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*\* 9331*  
INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

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*pts. 1-11*  
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*See back*

HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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OCTOBER 3, 1952; MARCH 16, MAY 28, JUNE 2, AND 9, 1954

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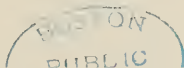
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COURTNEY E. OWENS, *Chief Investigator*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

\* \* \* \* \*

(g) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

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(a) Un-American activities.

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call in room 931, Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel, Hollywood, Calif., at 5:20 p. m., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Committee member present: Representative John S. Wood.

Staff member present: Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel.

Mr. Wood. We will proceed.

Mr. McClaskey, do you solemnly swear the evidence you shall give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF EUGENE KENNETH McCLASKEY

Mr. BEALE. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. McCLASKEY. My name is Eugene Kenneth McClaskey.

Mr. BEALE. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I presently reside at Route 5, Box 609-A, Everett, Wash.

Mr. BEALE. When and where were you born?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I was born in Albion, Wash., on June 5, 1910.

Mr. BEALE. Would you give a brief summary of your educational background?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I was educated in the public schools of Pullman, Wash., going through grade school and high school there. I finished high school in 1928, and enrolled in the State College in Washington.

I took a B. A. degree with honors in English literature at the State College of Washington in 1933.

The following academic year, 1933-34, I held a teaching fellowship in English literature at the State College of Washington, and worked part time for my master's degree in that subject.

In December of 1933, I was awarded a Rhodes scholarship; and pursuant to that scholarship, I entered Exeter College, Oxford University, in Oxford, England.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee at time of printing due to the pertinency of subject to this series of hearings.



In 1936, I was awarded a third class honors degree in modern economics, political science and theory, and philosophy.

During the 1936-37 academic year, I worked for a diploma degree in public administration at Oxford University, and I was awarded the diploma at the end of that academic year.

Mr. BEALE. That would be June 1937?

Mr. McCLASKEY. As near as I can recall, sir.

Mr. BEALE. Does that complete your formal education?

Mr. McCLASKEY. Yes; except for the school of experience.

Mr. BEALE. When did you return to the United States?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I returned to the United States, as I best recall it, in July of 1937.

Mr. BEALE. Where were you first employed after completing your schooling?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I was first employed, after completing my schooling, by the National Labor Relations Board, on September 13, 1937, in the Board's 19th regional office in Seattle, Wash.

Mr. BEALE. What was the title of your position, or the grade of your position?

Mr. McCLASKEY. The title and grade of my entering position with the Board was field examiner, CAF-5.

Mr. BEALE. You remained with the National Labor Relations Board ever since?

Mr. McCLASKEY. Since that date, I have been continuously employed by the National Labor Relations Board except for about a 2-year-and-3-month period when I was in the United States Army.

Mr. BEALE. What is the title and grade of your present position?

Mr. McCLASKEY. The present title and grade of my position is that of labor-management relations examiner, chief labor-management relations examiner. That is grade GS-13.

Mr. BEALE. Mr. McClaskey, the committee has information to the effect that while you were a student at Oxford University, you became affiliated with the Communist Party of England. Is that information correct?

Mr. McCLASKEY. That information is correct, and I have previously volunteered it to you.

Mr. BEALE. Would you mind stating, in your own words, how you became affiliated with the Communist Party of England?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I was originally solicited for membership in the Communist Party of Great Britain by English Oxford University students with whom I was associated during that period. I had, as was previously stated, changed courses from English literature to that of political science and economics. Having done so, I endeavored to complete 3 years' work in 2 years for my degree. I realize now that in the course of doing that I was under considerable mental and emotional strain, and did suffer greatly from mental indigestion.

I joined, as nearly as I can recall, because in that state of emotional and mental upset, I was rather desperately seeking, I suppose, "pat" answers and certainties which my studies were not giving me in those fields.

Also, the world situation at that time, being a year before the Chamberlain-Munich situation, did not seem to me to be one which gave one confidence in the future.



I did not find that certainty through membership in the party, and in fact, I found myself rebelling against the autocracy, so far as ideas and things of the mind were concerned.

Mr. BEALE. Do you recall the date of this affiliation?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I do not, exactly, but to the best of my recollection it took place roughly in December of 1936 or January of 1937.

Mr. BEALE. How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party of England?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I remained a member of the party until the date upon which I left England for the Continent before returning to the United States.

Mr. BEALE. Since returning to the United States, have you been affiliated in any manner with the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. McCLASKEY. Since returning to the United States, I have not affiliated or reaffiliated with the Communist Party of the United States, nor have I sought it or its functionaries out at any time.

Mr. BEALE. Have you ever been affiliated with any Communist-front organizations in the United States? Have you ever been affiliated with any organization designated by the Attorney General of the United States or by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, as a Communist-front organization?

Mr. McCLASKEY. So far as I know, I have been briefly associated, and not affiliated, with one such organization, namely, the Seattle Labor School.

Mr. BEALE. During what period of time were you associated with the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. Between—and again, as nearly as I can now recall—January and February of 1946.

Mr. BEALE. In what connection?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I was asked by someone, whom I am certain is not a Communist, if I would teach a course in labor history at the Seattle Labor School. Not realizing, when requested to do so, that the organization was Communist affiliated or dominated, I agreed to teach such an 8-week course.

Mr. BEALE. Did you teach the course?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I taught, I think, 4 lessons in that course, and then resigned my position and I did not continue with it, and have had no connection whatsoever with that school since.

Mr. BEALE. What caused you to sever your connection with the school?

Mr. McCLASKEY. Shortly after I agreed to teach the course, James Farmer, at that time an official of the Seattle Chapter, American Newspaper Guild, called me and asked me what I was doing with my name appearing on the school's schedule. He went on to say that the school was controlled and dominated by the Commies in that area, and asked me if it was not a fact that I was told what I should teach in the particular course. I told him that such was not the case; that I had demanded and had been given absolute say as to the content of the course.

I went on to tell Farmer that while I had suggested that the students should, in their reading, consult Anthony Bimba's History of the American Labor Movement, that I had told them that that par-

ticular book had a definite Communist slant which I did not myself subscribe to; and that I subscribed, in my approach to the history of the American labor movement, to that put forth by Prof. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin.

I became alarmed at the charges made by Mr. Farmer, and made a private investigation of my own concerning the school and who was behind it. While I did not know any of the founders to be Communists, many of them had been accused of being members of the party, and I decided to sever my connections at that time, because I did not want anything to do with anything of that kind. I rather quietly resigned from the so-called faculty of that school, with the excuse, which was partly true, that pressure of my work made it impossible for me to continue. I did not sound off, as did some other people, against the school later, because to do so would create professional difficulties, so far as my work was concerned, and would lessen my effectiveness in dealing with the unions in the area of our office.

Mr. BEALE. Who solicited you to teach the course at the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I am not certain at this time.

Mr. BEALE. Well, you were certain enough to say that it was a man that you knew wasn't a Communist.

Mr. McCLASKEY. I am coming along, sir. I am not absolutely certain, but I believe that it was a long-time personal friend of mine, a Raymond Adams, who, if it was he, I was certain then was not a Communist, and I know definitely now, or at any event believe, that he is not.

Mr. BEALE. What was Mr. Adams' connection with the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. A very brief one, also. He, like I, was interested in workers' education, and believed, as I did, that much could be done to improve labor relations by proper labor-adult education.

May I summarize what I have to say, and then I will leave it up to you?

Mr. BEALE. I think this ought to be on the record and, you see, it is very pertinent.

Mr. McCLASKEY. I wanted it on.

I became interested at Oxford University in the field of labor and adult education through work which was being done at Ruskin College at Oxford. In 1942, or early 1943, a Dr. Nostrand and a Linden Mander—this may be a little garbled, but it is close—at the University of Washington, learned through my wife, who was a teaching associate at the university at that time, that I was interested in labor education. Drs. Nostrand and Mander were at that time associated with the extension department of the university, and it developed that they were interested, through cooperation with labor unions and with management, in setting up labor education courses throughout western Washington under the auspices of the university extension department.

Dr. Mander, through my wife, invited me to lunch to ascertain what, if anything, I could do to assist him in this project of his, so far as soliciting the support of prominent and influential figures in the Seattle and vicinity labor movement.

At his behest, I called or personally talked to many of the most prominent and influential leaders in Seattle and Washington labor, to

ascertain whether or not they were interested in such a program; whether or not they would support it; and what types of courses they thought would be most beneficial to their membership, shop stewards, and local union officials.

I discovered a very enthusiastic response to my inquiries, and men like Roy Atkinson, Washington State CIO regional director, and Ed Weston, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor, AFL, indicated they would support, if necessary, financially such a program.

I reported back to the university people, who said they would carry the matter on up through channels.

Exactly nothing came of this ambitious program, even though I had kindled very considerable interest, I think, generally in the labor movement. It is my belief that my being asked later to teach at the Seattle Labor School came as a result of what I had done endeavoring to assist the university those 2 or 3 years earlier.

Having discovered, to my own satisfaction, that the labor school was not what it claimed to be, and was very possibly a dangerous organization, I later, with other management and labor officials, was, I believe, instrumental in getting the University of Washington to set up an Institute of Industrial Relations somewhat similar to that existing in the University of California chain of universities or schools.

I would like to say only this, in respect to this, additionally, in respect to this subject: that after the University of Washington Institute of Industrial Relations was set up, I was requested by the president of the University of Washington, Dr. Raymond Allen, to serve on the State and community advisory committee for the Institute of Industrial Relations, and I am presently serving on that committee.

Mr. BEALE. Let us get back to the question I asked you about Raymond Adams, which I don't think you completely answered.

I asked you what was the official connection of Raymond Adams with the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. My recollection is that his name, or he was one of a so-called board of directors. He told me later, as did some others whose names appeared on the typical letterhead, that they had been brought into the thing, and they felt under false pretenses and to lend a protective or false coloring to that school. Mr. Adams and other people in a similar position resigned from the board of directors of that school, I am quite certain, not many months after I severed my connections with it.

Mr. BEALE. You stated that you recommended the use of Anthony Bimba's History of American Labor Movement. Had you ever heard of Anthony Bimba before that time?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I had read Bimba. I will explain that in this way: That there was no intent there on my part to indoctrinate. I still believe that there is no one whole truth, and that any thoughtful scholar or student should be aware of the thinking and the diverse approaches to a subject. I mentioned only Bimba and Commons, and there were many other books that I also recommended.

I wish to point out that I warned the students of the bias; that I did not believe it, to watch out for it, but that that was an approach.

Mr. BEALE. You said that you had heard of Anthony Bimba before then. Did you hear that Anthony Bimba was a functionary of the Communist Party?



Mr. McCLASKEY. No. But when I read the book—and I read it in England at the recommendation of a tutor in the subject of labor relations—I was aware that, as I told these six students, incidentally, that that was at least then the party line and interpretation, as far as the history of the American labor movement was concerned.

Mr. BEALE. Now, you stated earlier that you made an investigation of your own to find out who was behind the school. What was the result of that independent investigation, and who did you determine was behind the school?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I did not determine completely to my satisfaction who was behind it. I consulted with my friends, particularly in the labor movement, who were then and are now avowed anti-Communists. They warned me about it, and they mentioned names of certain people who they at that time accused of being Communists.

Mr. BEALE. Who were those people?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I don't, I am afraid, recall all of them.

Mr. BEALE. Whom do you recall?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I will give you some, just as quickly as I get straightened out on it.

I was told that Eddie E. Tangen, T-a-n-g-e-n, with the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, was a Communist. I do not correctly or I do not absolutely remember, but it seems to me that William Pennock was associated in some capacity with that school.

There were others whom I do not know or knew very little, who were accused of being Communists, but whom I did not know to be Communists.

It looked sufficiently bad to me along that line so that I pulled out of it.

Mr. BEALE. Did your supervisor at the National Labor Relations Board in Seattle know of your connection with the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. He did.

Mr. BEALE. Who was the director of the school?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I do not now recall his name. I might say, however, that I became immediately suspicious of him. He seemed to be the typical man to be placed in what that school finally turned out to be, although as I say, he did not seek to indoctrinate me, nor did he request that I indoctrinate anyone or teach any certain line.

Mr. BEALE. You mentioned the name of William Pennock. Do you know whether William Pennock was affiliated with the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I never was.

Mr. BEALE. Were you ever affiliated with that organization?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I never was.

Mr. BEALE. What is the present status of the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. It no longer exists, to the best of my knowledge. I have not followed it closely, I assure you.

Mr. BEALE. Did it precede or succeed the Pacific Northwest Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. It preceded it.

Mr. BEALE. Isn't it a matter of fact, or do you know, that at the time the Seattle Labor School was listed by the Attorney General as a Communist organization, that they changed the name of it to the Pacific Northwest Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I would not know that. I was out of my brief association with the first school long before the Attorney General proscribed it.

Mr. BEALE. Do you know anything about the present status of the Pacific Northwest Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I know nothing. If it is in existence, I would be surprised. I haven't heard anything of it for years, except in the papers and articles to the effect that the Attorney General proscribed it; and I think, without having proof again, the way we were talking last night, I think the Attorney General was right on that school.

Mr. BEALE. Is the Seattle Labor School the only organization of a questionable character that you have ever been associated or affiliated or connected with?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I had another brief association with an organization which I do not know to have been proscribed by the Attorney General.

Mr. BEALE. What is the name of the organization?

Mr. McCLASKEY. That organization was the Independent [Citizens'] Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

Mr. BEALE. When did you affiliate with that organization?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I did not affiliate with it.

Mr. BEALE. What was your connection with it?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I attended no more than two meetings; one a meeting at the Olympic Hotel, which was addressed by James Roosevelt from this State; and another one presided over, I believe, by Prof. Joseph Harrison of the university, held at the Women's Century Club in Seattle.

Mr. BEALE. Who invited you to those meetings?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I believe that I attended those meetings out of curiosity.

Mr. BEALE. Mr. Wheeler, do you have any questions you want to ask the witness?

Mr. WHEELER. I have no questions.

Mr. McCLASKEY. May I say something more on this, even at the risk of seeming to protest too much?

Mr. BEALE. If it is pertinent to the inquiry, you certainly may say it.

Mr. McCLASKEY. I would like to say only this: That, again, I noted that this same William Pennock appeared to be quite active in this organization, and I, personally, cried "enough."

Mr. BEALE. Where was this Seattle Labor School located?

Mr. McCLASKEY. During my brief association with it, it occupied space in the old Central School building of the Seattle public schools. I am told that sometime after I left it, they left the Central School, and I don't know where they went.

Mr. BEALE. Did you know a woman by the name of Florence Bean James, in connection with the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I did not. I am aware of who she is, and I have seen her professionally on the stage, but that, many years ago.

Mr. BEALE. Did you know Prof. Ralph Gundlach?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I think that I met Gundlach once or twice at big parties.

Mr. BEALE. Did you know him as a member of the board of directors of the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I never saw him or talked with him in that capacity, although I recall, I think, seeing his name on the letterhead. I had no conversation with him.

I might say, if I am on the record, that Gundlach's name on the letterhead was another one of the things which impelled me to resign.

Mr. BEALE. Did you know a man by the name of Albert Ottenheimer, who taught a course at the Seattle Labor School?

Mr. McCLASKEY. I have never known him, nor was I aware that he taught a course at the school.

Of the very few teachers that I knew, I knew one who was not, I am convinced, a member of the party, and I think that there were others who were roped in the way I was.

Mr. BEALE. That is all.

(Whereupon, at 6:05 p. m., the executive session was concluded.)

# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

**TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1954**

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Chicago, Ill.*

**EXECUTIVE SESSION<sup>1</sup>**

The subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 1707, LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, Ill., the Honorable Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Harold H. Velde, chairman.

Staff members present: W. Jackson Jones, committee investigator; Dolores Anderson, reporter.

Mr. VELDE. Will you raise your right hand to be sworn, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BLODGETT. I do.

Mr. VELDE. I have appointed myself as a subcommittee of one to hear your executive testimony today. Mr. Jones will do the questioning in place of our counsel, since counsel is busy on another case.

You may proceed, Mr. Jones.

Mr. JONES. Mr. Blodgett, will you state your full name, please?

## **TESTIMONY OF CHARLES DAVID BLODGETT**

Mr. BLODGETT. Charles David Blodgett.

Mr. JONES. In your executive statement to the committee in August of 1953, you referred to one Moore as being in attendance at a meeting of the Communist Political Affairs Committee of Alameda County, Calif. In this executive statement you identified the individual as being a professor, I believe.

Mr. BLODGETT. That is correct.

Mr. JONES. Subsequent investigation by the committee staff reveals that this individual may be the Stanley Moore who is currently a professor at Reed College, Oreg.

Do you have any information which would clarify or add to this investigation?

Mr. BLODGETT. I was personally acquainted with a Mr. Stanley Moore during a period of approximately late 1946 to part of 1947, when I resided in Alameda, Calif. At that time I was a member of the Communist Party, and was employed as a staff writer of the Daily People's World, in its Oakland, Calif., office.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee.



In my capacity as an employee of the Daily People's World, I was required to attend meetings of the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party of Alameda County, as an observer. These meetings were closed Communist Party meetings.

A Mr. Stanley Moore was in attendance at a few of these meetings and was identified to me as an instructor in philosophy at the University of California, Berkeley, Calif., and an official of the professional section of the Communist Party of Alameda County.

As I recall, Mr. Moore left the bay area sometime in 1947 and I learned that he had taken a position as a teacher at Reed College in Oregon.

At the time I knew him, I would describe Mr. Stanley Moore as having been a man in his middle or late thirties, approximately 5 feet 11 inches in height, dark straight hair, and of medium build. While I cannot state positively that Stanley Moore was a member of the Communist Party, his presence at meetings of the political affairs committee clearly indicated that he was at that time a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. JONES. During your membership in the Communist Party in Oakland, Calif., did you at any time contact this individual directly or have a conversation with him?

Mr. BLODGETT. Yes; I have a definite recollection of a conversation with Mr. Moore, which took place in the Alameda County CIO Building on Grand Avenue, in Oakland, Calif., just prior to a meeting of the political affairs committee of this Communist Party which was being held at that building.

Mr. Moore, as I recall, complimented me on a story which I had written and which appeared in the Daily People's World, relating to the ownership and control of the Oakland Tribune by Mr. Joseph R. Knowland, father of United States Senator William F. Knowland, of California.

I further recall that Mr. Moore provided me with some additional information about Mr. Knowland which he thought might well have been included in the feature story which appeared in the Daily People's World relating to Mr. Knowland's connections in Spain.

Mr. JONES. On behalf of the committee, I want to thank you for taking time off from your many duties to appear before this subcommittee today and answer these questions concerning your knowledge of the alleged Communist Party membership of Stanley Moore. Because of your extensive knowledge of the operations and activities of the Communist Party in the San Francisco Bay area, and the continuing investigations of the committee there, there may arise in the future other instances such as these, at which the committee will again have to ask your cooperation. At any time such as this, the committee will attempt to arrange a convenient time and place for the interviews and interrogations.

I hope this meets with your approval and your expressed cooperation with the committee.

Mr. BLODGETT. I thank you, Mr. Jones, and appreciate the committee's attitude in that respect, and I would like to assure you that I am ready and willing at all times to cooperate the best I can with your and other committees.

(Whereupon at 11:20 a. m., the executive session adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)



# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 11:15 a. m., in room 1484, Statler Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif, Hon. Clyde Doyle presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF HOWARD COSTIGAN

Mr. WHEELER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Howard Costigan.

Mr. WHEELER. Where and when were you born?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I was born in Seattle, Wash., on January 27, 1904.

Mr. WHEELER. Tell the committee of your educational background.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I attended grade school in Seattle and in Everett. I attended high school in Seattle, and in Centralia, Wash., from which I graduated. I went to Whitman College on a scholarship, and I attended Western Washington College of Education.

Mr. WHEELER. And what has been your employment background?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, a little bit of everything. I worked in the mills when I was going to high school. I worked in retail haberdashery establishments while I was going to school. After I changed courses in college, because of a disagreement with my father over what I should take, I learned to cut hair, cut women's hair, and became a member of a union, haircutter union.

I taught school, and coached athletics at Vancouver, Wash. In the depression I began to do a progressive radio commentary, and my principal source of income from that time, approximately 1934 through 1945, other than official Government positions, was as a newscaster, news editor, radio commentator for radio stations and commercial sponsors.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee.

I originated, with others, the Commonwealth Builders in 1934, a progressive political organization which functioned in the Democratic Party and was molded, in many respects, after the employment movement of California. I became the first and only executive secretary of the Commonwealth Builders. And subsequently, when the Washington Commonwealth Federation was formed out of the Commonwealth Builders and labor and unemployed organizations and other farm groups, I became its first executive secretary, and I remained its executive secretary until I left the Washington Commonwealth Federation in 1940, officially to head up the LaGuardia campaign for Franklin Roosevelt after it became apparent to me there was a split between the Roosevelt policies and those of the Communist Party, which I had subsequently joined. If this is a rather lengthy report it is because I brought it in because, in a sense, in any economic record it is a very small portion and at no time I am sure that not more than \$50 or \$60 a month came to me via the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

Now, in addition, in 1944 I became the head of a division of the department of conservation and development of the State of Washington, which was known as the division of progress and industry development, and which was created out of the old Washington State Planning Council and the publicity division of the State, the promotion division, on a national level. And I remained in this post—I was appointed by the Governor of the State, and subsequent to that appointment I became the secretary of Governor Walgren's Advisory Commission, which served representatives, top representatives of industry, labor, agriculture, education, and government. I resigned my post in 1946 after I was unable to persuade Governor Walgren that Hugh DeLacy, if nominated, would subsequently be responsible for the defeat of Hugh Mitchell, who was running for United States Senator, because Harry Cain would campaign on the statewide basis against DeLacy and not against Mitchell, and it would cost Mitchell, as it subsequently did, his election.

I ran against DeLacy in 1946, after I resigned my post as director of the division of progress and industry development, and from my post as executive secretary of the Washington State Advisory Commission, and after that election was over and Mr. DeLacy was defeated by 2 to 1 in the finals by the Republican congressional opponent, I was employed to form Pacific Northwest United, a Northwest group embracing industry, labor, agriculture, and Northwest subdivisions of government. Mayor Devin of Seattle was elected its chairman. He was elected its treasurer. Mayor Riley of Portland was its chairman, and I was its executive secretary.

When this organization, which could not finally function as it had intended to because of differences of opinion between the industrial members and agricultural members over freight rate revision, I was offered the job, as an assignment, as district director for the United Nations Appeal for Children, on which post I served, directing the United Nations Appeal for Children campaign, which was headed up nationally by General Marshall. And I continued there in the Pacific Northwest until it was indicated I was to be called before the Canwell committee as a witness. And I was fired by the regional director because he was frightened at the headlines that my citation committed. But I am pleased to note that subsequently the people who had been

working most closely with me, many of them genuine conservatives, insisted on my being reemployed in the post, and I was reemployed, and subsequently was asked to come to California by the western director of the United Nations Appeal for Children to assist in the promotion of that section of the campaign among the major labor organizations, AFL and CIO.

It was while on this tour of duty that I met Roy Brewer, as I later learned for a second time because I had once interviewed him when I was doing a series of interviews on radio out of Washington, D. C., during the war, and at his persuasion I became the secretary of an organization known as the League of Hollywood Voters, made up largely of AFL crafts and guilds, members of the crafts and guilds in Hollywood who were supporting the Democratic Party, but could not support candidates who were soft on the Communist issue in that campaign.

I later worked for the Democratic State central committee as an assistant to George Lucky, the vice chairman for the Democratic State central committee in southern California. And from there I was again reemployed by Mr. Roy Brewer as assistant in the west coast office of the IATSE.

Does that cover what you want to know?

Mr. WHEELER. That covers it fine. What is your present residence?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Hollywood.

Mr. WHEELER. Hollywood, Calif.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. I believe that you mentioned the fact that you joined the Communist Party. Could you give us the approximate date this occurred?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. It is an approximate date. But since—as a matter of fact, I only saw my card once, and that for a brief instant, and I do remember that I signed my name Jack Robinson, and that proved not dispropheetic as I thought, quicker than Jack Robinson being a thought, and I want to get it behind me. It was December of 1936, I believe, the date that I joined the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you leave the Communist Party, Mr. Costigan?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, actually I left it spiritually right after the Nazi-Soviet pact, and physically I was not in any relationship on a friendly basis with members of the Communist Party, whom I had known as Communists, from that time on.

Technically, I would say that I did not really leave the orbit of the Communist Party until I had made up my mind that many of those who I had thought were as devoted to basic democracy and were anti-totalitarian as I was, proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that they were members of the Communist church instead of the democratic faith that I embraced. This, I would place at approximately some time early in 1940. I paid no dues at any time to the Communist Party. I never attended meetings of units of the party, as such, for training purposes. I was co-opted to the district bureau, and the people that I knew intimately as Communists I knew intimately only because they served on the district bureau of the Communist Party during the years, between the years 1937 and 1939.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was responsible for your actually becoming a member of the Communist Party?



Mr. COSTIGAN. Morris Rapport, who I understand was also known as Morris Rappaport. But it was spelled R-a-p-p-o-r-t, as I recall it. But I believe his true name is spelled R-a-p-p-a-p-o-r-t.

Mr. WHEELER. What were the events leading up—

Mr. COSTIGAN. Pardon me. He was the district organizer of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, what were the events that led up to your becoming a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. There is something that is so typical of the usual pattern which I have studied in cases of many others who have become members of the Communist Party and who have subsequently left it and are therefore now telling the truth, that I suppose it is almost unique. I didn't join the Communist Party in the true sense of the term. The party joined me. I was what is euphemistically called in a political career a success before I ever became a member of the Communist Party. We had, in 1934, when the Communist Party had no weight or influence with the membership or the leadership of the Commonwealth Builders—

Mr. WHEELER. You might explain the Commonwealth Builders for the record.

Mr. COSTIGAN. The Commonwealth Builders was an organization originally of protesting and mainly unemployed citizens who were displeased at the fact that they were expected to go up in front of soup kitchens when they preferred working with tools to build themselves an adequate standard of living, which could not be provided by private industry because private industry was not then able to provide employment for these individuals, and they decided there needed to be a liberalization of the State law to provide a chance for people to cooperate in the true pioneering spirit of the Northwest to provide themselves with beds, with shoes, with mattresses even, and so forth.

They decided that as long as private industry couldn't provide them with the chance to do it that it was the duty of the State, and they nominated candidates who supported what we call the Economic Security Act of 1935; and I might add that that act almost passed the house of representatives. It got, I believe, 48 votes, and there were 99 members in the house. And we elected on the Commonwealth Builders ticket 41 members of the house of representatives in 1934, and I have forgotten the number of the State senate, although it comes up in fractions, I think, about a third, if my memory serves me right, a third each time. I can't tell you. I know whoever was up from western Washington, most of them were part of our ticket, that is, the Commonwealth Builders. And about that time I became familiar with the CCFC, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada, and I remember their Regina manifesto, and it occurred to me that an organization which would embrace organizations of labor, of unemployed citizens, of cultural and educational groups, that were in protest against the concept of poverty existing in the midst of potential plenty, that these people should be welded into one common organization and in support of the New Deal; because we then had a governor of the State who rode into office with Franklin Roosevelt but who, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the State had supported Roosevelt, was opposed to his policies.

And so we created an organization that had as its slogan, "Let's bring the New Deal to the State of Washington." And, "Let's break

down the barn door, kids, to keep the New Deal"; which we all vowed to implement at Olympia, the capital of our State, and it was in 1935 that the Washington Commonwealth Federation held its first and formative convention in Tacoma. I keynoted that convention and personally opposed the seating of members of the Communist Party in the convention at that time. And that was prior to the Dimitrov orientation being entered in the United States by Earl Browder as a popular front in support of Franklin Roosevelt. And Marcantonio was beating the drum in the East, or the Mid-West, I have forgotten; but I had attended a conference held in Chicago, Ill., of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, at which time the issue became glaringly clear to me that the Communist Party, through its manipulated puppets, was attempting to create a new party and to rob Franklin Roosevelt, wherever possible, of the support he was naturally entitled to, and as a result of which I was, for two reasons—one, because of the Communist Party, because it had from the beginning of the building of the Commonwealth Builders accused me of being the Northwest's Huey Long, a misleader of the people and social Fascist; and at that time Franklin Roosevelt was the greatest social Fascist, according to the Communist Party, and I had opposed the Communist Party, and the Communist Party was never officially seated at the Commonwealth Builders convention, and never, subsequently, was officially part of the Commonwealth Builders, or Commonwealth Federation.

After the Dimitrov orientation the party line changed and the party no longer attempted to affiliate directly with the Commonwealth Builders or subsequently the Commonwealth Federation, but attempted to do what I subsequently learned was an excellent job of penetrating via trade unions and liberal organizations that were already affiliated with the Commonwealth Federation.

Mr. WHEELER. I don't think you answered the question. What led you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, again—the Commonwealth Federation, inasmuch as in 1936 the Washington Commonwealth Federation had, via my broadcast and other means, persuaded a number of the people that they should become active in their own community in seeking delegations to the coming State Democratic convention who would support the Commonwealth Federation on major issues, and as a result of this appeal the grassroots convention—and they go in for great democracy in Washington State. In that 1936 caucus on a statewide basis, we elected, as it subsequently turned out at the Aberdeen convention of the Democratic Party, a majority pledged to the WCF program. It was with the opposition of the Communist Party. That is one mistake Jim Farley made when he said, after the convention had been reported to him, "47 States and the Soviet of Washington." There were no Communists who were involved. As a matter of fact, this was a natural protest of a combination of early American stock who probably in their background populace, and probably some had been Wobblies,<sup>1</sup> and I am sure others had been early Bull Moosers—

Mr. WHEELER. How did you—

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am just getting to this point. So what I am saying, at the Aberdeen convention we had a battle. For example, the speech delivered there called Our Party—Has Been Leftwing, I think

<sup>1</sup> Name by which members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were sometimes known.

was the title—and it was delivered by Warren G. Magnuson, and the speech was prepared for Magnuson by me and by Paul Coughlin, who was his chief criminal deputy, and that speech was a real liberal speech but it was a speech in no sense affected by the thinking of the Communist Party.

After he delivered the keynote address at Aberdeen, we were, I think, oh, some hours in getting order in the convention. I remember nine gavels were broken during the course of the convention. The highway patrol was in and out of the convention 3 or 4 times trying to gain order; and by the time the morning rolled around it was clearly indicated that the WCF was in control of the convention, and we were making national headlines all over the United States. And as I subsequently learned, in New York City there was a convention of the Communist Party which was going on concurrently, as I remember it, with this meeting, and Browder, who may or may not have just gotten off the boat, was bringing before the delegates to the Communist Party the information about the Dimitrov orientation and its effect upon the American scene. And during the course of his speech to the delegates he took time out to praise the work of the "comrades from the Pacific Northwest who had anticipated the change in the party line and already had helped to set up the first popular front on the North American Continent known as the Washington Commonwealth Federation." Well, they took the bows. They had nothing to do with it. They had been back there with the concept of stabbing me in the political back, but they came back from there, as I subsequently learned, dedicated to the idea that they were going to become very close and intimate political friends of mine; and so those who had been my enemies suddenly began to act as my friends, and I thought that was a new light they had seen on their own democratic decisions. I was not yet aware that the decision was made in Moscow.

So, subsequent to that time, the Communists made it clear to me—I speak presently of Morris Rapport, who I was much better acquainted with—that they were going to do everything in their power to see progressive delegates elected from the member organization of the WCF, that meant in labor unions, in cultural groups, in pension groups, and so forth; and as a result of this I found out, not much later than that, that most—in fact, I think I once counted it up, 56 members of the WCF executive board out of 72, to my memory, and it is a little hazy on these things, were actually members of the Communist Party.

And so it brought to my attention, or it was brought to my attention by Mr. Rapport that as long as they were taking me to do nothing but what I was going to do anyway, and as long as most of the members of the board were members of the Communist Party, I had better be sitting in on the meetings where policies were decided because I could help to shape the policies. And as a result, I thought it over and decided that inasmuch as it then seemed to me that the popular front, which I thought most Americans could and would support at the time, was a permanent policy of the Communist Party, and since I had found that most of the Communists on our executive board were the hardest workers and the most zealous proponents of the program and the platform of the Washington Commonwealth Federation at the time, that I would be probably better off from the standpoint of the WCF program to be a member at the top level of the Communist



Party, rather than sitting outside while decisions were made and then having to follow these decisions, with which I was, in essence, in any sense, at that point, ready to agree in the meetings of the WCF executive board, in the meetings of the conventions, and in the meetings of the organizations that the WCF influenced, which included the Democratic Party not only in the Northwest but in the entire West.

Mr. WHEELER. They actually gained enough strength where they could take over the organization; isn't that correct?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes; they could at the time.

Mr. WHEELER. When did the name change from Commonwealth Builders to Washington Commonwealth Federation?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I think I reported this, but I will repeat it. The change took place in 1935 via a confederation launching convention in Tacoma, Wash.

Mr. WHEELER. Should any importance be attached to the changing of the name?

Mr. COSTIGAN. No; except that it broadened it; had nothing to do with the Communist Party; simply the fact that—

Mr. WHEELER. Part of your expansion program?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. The Commonwealth Builders, as a matter of fact, became affiliates of the Commonwealth Federation and labor organizations, both AFL and subsequently CIO.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you first meet Morris Rapport?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Oh, that would be difficult to say, but I suspect I met him when we were in conflict in 1935. I mean, he was one of those who accused me of being the Huey Long of the Northwest.

Mr. WHEELER. How did he mend this difference?

Mr. COSTIGAN. The difference was mended because the party line changed, and instead of being a heel to the Communists I became a hero to the Communists.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, were you more or less considered as a member at large of the Communist Party rather than—

Mr. COSTIGAN. The people I knew best in the party were the people who were most important in the political arm of the party in the Northwest. As I said, the people I knew as party members primarily, with few exceptions, were people who at one time or other were part of the district bureau of the Communist Party between the years 1937 and through about up to the time of the Soviet-Nazi Pact in 1939, which would be about September 1939.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the other employees of the WCF?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, there were a lot of volunteers, but actually in the official staffing—there were so many changes from time to time, you see, and I was also editor in chief of the Commonwealth Builder, which then became the Washington—I think the Interim Commonwealth, and finally became the New Dealer before I left the WCF, and subsequently became, after the New Dealer, became the New World, under direct Communist domination; and then became associated as the Northwest section, I believe, or Northwest edition of the People's World, which is the Communist publication.

Mr. WHEELER. The inception of the Northwest edition of the Northwest People's World was in the Commonwealth Builders—

Mr. COSTIGAN. After I left the Washington Commonwealth Federation did.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, who were the others?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I meant to say, Terry Pettus succeeded me as the—wait a minute. After I became too busy to be even nominally the editor, I had a column in the weekly we put out, which at that time had about 20,000 circulation, and the chap who succeeded me as editor after the party line had changed, and he had been a functionary of the party, was Lowell Wakefield. He became the first editor of the New Dealer, I believe.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you know Lowell Wakefield was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, he was a member of the Communist Party. But more important than that, he had been an open candidate for the Communist Party in 1936, I believe, for the city council, and I am sure that it was not many years after that that he was byline writer on the Daily Worker in New York before he returned to the Pacific Northwest to go into business, I believe, in the Alaska herring business with his father. Now, I understand he has a deep—he deep-freezes Alaskan crab and ships it all over the world; or at least all over the United States.

Mr. WHEELER. Who else?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Jim Cour became an editor of the New Dealer, I think it was called at the time. Anyway, it is easily ascertainable by the records.

Mr. WHEELER. Was Jim Cour known to you as a Communist?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, he was a member of the Communist Party. I knew of him, not because he ever served on the district bureau of the party, but because he, I believe, was a member of the WCF.

Mr. DOYLE. What year would that be, approximately?

Mr. COSTIGAN. That would be—well, I couldn't say. You see, I knew Jim for some time, but I think that the time of his membership, if I recall it correctly, would be around 1937, 1938.

Mr. WHEELER. Who else on your immediate staff?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am keeping it down to the paper.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I believe that Ellen McGrath worked on a voluntary basis because she was doing commercial newspaper work at the time. But Ellen McGrath, I believe, was acquainted one way or the other on the staff of the organization, of the weekly organization, Washington Commonwealth Federation, and I think she used a pseudonym that she wrote under as a staff writer for the paper, and subsequently she did it under a pseudonym for the People's World. Ellen McGrath was, of course, a member of the Communist Party. I say "of course," it was one of those things which we just knew by the relationship. I can't specifically say that I ever saw a party card for her; I am sure I didn't.

Mr. DOYLE. Or sat in a meeting with her?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I sat in some meetings with her on business with the WCF, which would have been one way or another involved with WCF, but I am sure that we were conscious, jointly conscious, that we were on business of both the WCF and the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, who were on your immediate staff?

Mr. COSTIGAN. William Pennock was one of my secretaries. Poor Bill, I understand, committed suicide during the course of the Smith Act trials in Seattle.



Mr. WHEELER. You knew Pennock was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. As a matter of fact, he was the man who often was the person who carried the messages from Morris Rappoport to me so that we would meet and coffee up and discuss policies. And also, you know, Pennock subsequently became a member—after Pennock had been my secretary for some time and he aped me, aped my mannerisms, and every time I would make a speech I would find him looking like a strange character of myself, and I decided he was becoming too much of a shadow, so when the opportunity came to form the Washington Old Age Pension Union I sent Pennock into the pension union, as much to get him out from being my shadow as anything else, to become one of its active officers; which he remained until he died.

Now, I had others on the secretarial staff which I suppose you want to know something about. Sylvia Keen was a secretary of mine, and a member of the Communist Party. I am glad to note that she subsequently broke hard and strong from the Party.

I am having a little difficulty remembering the name of another secretary. As a matter of fact, Pennock, Sylvia Keen, and the third one, whose name I now recall, her name was Irene Borowski—Irene was, of course, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, did you have any non-Communists on either your publication or upon the staff?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, not at levels of—once the party had penetrated the Commonwealth Federation enough to be administratively the core of the federation, I would say no. However, there unquestionably were, since this was a popular front period and no desire on the part of the party to exclude from active participation with the WCF at the top level of those who would support the party position, either consciously or unconsciously. There were unquestionably others who were not party members who—

Mr. WHEELER. Was there any deviation from the Communist Party line on the part of the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Never from the time the Commonwealth Federation began to be—well, since the time the Communist Party changed its position from that of social revolution to antifascism in the democratic front until the time when I, among others, broke with the Commonwealth Federation over the Soviet-Nazi Pact. Then some of us deviated, but the Commonwealth Federation, as a going organization, didn't deviate.

Mr. WHEELER. Did not deviate?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. You mentioned Bill Pennock being placed in the pension organization of Washington—

Mr. COSTIGAN. Washington Old Age Pension Union is what it was called. I conceived the Washington Old Age Pension Union on my radio broadcast, and it came about something like this: I found there was an increasing number of people who had been unemployed during the depression who were people who had been long-time residents and taxpayers of the State of Washington, who found themselves in a position of—I analyzed it once in sort of a satirical way by saying that under the current laws in our State affecting old-age assistance,

I think the title was, that a pioneer of this State is expected to burn down his house, divorce his wife and drown his children before he is eligible for a pension. And I might add that a number of people in my State agreed with that point of view. And as a result, although the Townsend movement was quite potent in the State of Washington, and a number of Republican candidates for various offices were great Townsends, nevertheless, I had come to the conclusion that Townsendism was "pie in the sky" for these people and the intelligent thing for them to do was to organize together as political persons and citizens and associate themselves with the Commonwealth Federation so that we could help them get more adequate social security in our State, and they at the same time could break down the barriers which had been artificially created between them and trade unions in the State of Washington. And as a result of that I launched the pension union. But the surprise, which is the fact that the Communist Party had not yet caught up with itself in the organization with the support of the concept of the Old Age Pension Union. It bracketed it with "Ham and Eggs" and with other effluvia of the historical type of fast pension promotion, and as a result it took them 8 or 9 months before they would accept the idea. And so I suppose again, even though I was a member of the Communist Party, I was deviating from the party line until Browder and the boys in New York caught up with the procession and found out that instead of being something that was untenable, it was something really remarkably important, because it is true that among those who are aged there is more time to do precinct canvassing, and they are usually more zealous when they are seeking security for themselves.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was the head of the pension organization?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, I actually was the creator of it, and I was considered in several places as the "Young Dr. Townsend," which made me retch. I was, I think, honorary chairman. I was never on its executive board. And as long as I had any weight and influence with it, I kept it from taxing the members. I felt that would lead to the kind of rackets which in California have become too obvious.

Mr. WHEELER. What was Homer Huson's position?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I can't remember what Homer's position was. He was, I believe, a member of the executive board of the Old-Age Pension Union. Sullivan, who was a member of the State senate, was a president of it. Bill Pennock was its executive secretary. If you are trying to ask me if the old-age pension leadership consciously was a part of the Communist orbit, I would say no. But I would say that we did find very shortly that most of the potent executives who influenced it, with the exception of such people as Sullivan and Huson—

Mr. WHEELER. I am referring here to the testimony of John T. Sullivan in the Canwell committee report, 1948, the first report of the Un-American Activities Committee in the State of Washington, that in 1939, according to Mr. Sullivan, Homer Huson was removed at the convention in Tacoma in the spring of 1939 and was replaced by Bill Pennock.

Now, what I am getting at is, it is my understanding Homer Huson never was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. COSTIGAN. As far as I know, he never was a member. And he was also the target of the Communist Party operatives, and, as I assume, they don't hate their own.

Mr. WHEELER. It is my understanding that he did an effective, honest job in the organization.

Mr. COSTIGAN. He did within the limits of his ability by reason of the fact that he was constantly hemmed in by Communists who had more weight and influence within the top apparatus of the Pension Union. He did everything in his power to see to it, as far as I recall, to see to it that the Pension Union was working consistently on behalf of the rank and file members and not for ends other than gaining pensions for these people.

Mr. WHEELER. Why was he removed and replaced by Pennock?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Because he was, from the standpoint of the Communist Party, he was——

Mr. WHEELER. He wasn't agreeable?

Mr. COSTIGAN. As far as I know he was never a Communist. He might have been at one time, but as far as I know he never was; and it was because Huson was opposed to some of the party line——

Mr. WHEELER. He was a stumbling block?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. He was removed because he wouldn't go along with the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Right.

Mr. WHEELER. You mentioned you were a member of the district bureau from 1937 to 1939. Will you relate to the committee the function of the district bureau, its influence in the State of Washington and the membership, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. COSTIGAN. To the best of my recollection, the district bureau's function was to—it was the highest body of the party in the Pacific Northwest because the district bureau embraced the State of Oregon, the inland empire, which means the Panhandle of Idaho, and probably western Montana, the State of Washington, and the Territory of Alaska. The district bureau headquartered at Seattle because that was the highest concentration of party divisions in the Pacific Northwest, and it was, of course, the key city, being the queen city of the Northwest.

The district bureau policy, the application of the national and, I presume, obviously, the international line to the local scene—that is, I am speaking of the Northwest scene—and it dealt with all phases of the Communist Party activity that were—that is, I am saying all phases, but I subsequently learned that some phases of the Communist Party I was never familiar with, such as sabotage and possibly espionage—but all of the surface activities of the Communist Party were dealt with by the district bureau as the top organization of the party.

Mr. DOYLE. At what level was the sabotage and that level of activity decided?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, this I would never of my own knowledge know, because I am not familiar with it, except by hearsay, and also by the reading of material that has been published from the findings of the various committees of Congress and of the various States attested to by individuals under oath about evidences of sabotage.

Mr. DOYLE. Would your experience up in the Northwest indicate there were some other groups in authority that was deciding those matters?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, I would think that from my own speculation, and that is all I can do, that there must be an apparatus of the party



which functions completely independently of the so-called political arm of the party, and I am sure that if they engaged in sabotage activity in the Pacific Northwest they wouldn't want people who were as young and green and as unsophisticated as many of those who I have seen on the district bureau, they wouldn't want those to have these facts because this would be something that would obviously be of a criminal nature, and it is my understanding from people I have known who have been Communists who have told me there were people who were operating at the level of espionage, even of terror, who were sort of the gunmen of the party. But they were not, obviously, in my knowledge. Now, that doesn't mean that functionaries of the party, such as old-line functionaries like Morris Rapport, wouldn't know about it. But he certainly never discussed it with me.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the members of the district bureau?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, it wasn't a stationary group, and I would have to borrow a term from the current McCarthy hearings and have to have my memory refreshed somewhat. I can remember some of them.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, the ones you recall.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Harold Eby served on the district bureau.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you identify each individual?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Harold G. Eby was, and I believe still is, a professor of English at the University of Washington.

Mel Jacobs, I think, was on it because we often enough met at his home, and he was present when we met. Also, incidentally, at the time Morris Rapport was hiding out in the Pacific Northwest from, I think, the Immigration Department, he stayed with Mel Jacobs and his wife, secretly.

Mr. WHEELER. Who is Mel Jacobs?

Mr. COSTIGAN. He was an anthropologist and was a teacher at the University of Washington in anthropology and a brilliant teacher, and I believe he still teaches at the University of Washington.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, I knew he was a member of the Communist Party because the Communist Party district bureau met in his home.

Mr. WHEELER. How about Eby?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, of course, I knew he was. His wife also was a member of the Communist Party. I can't remember her first name, but I am sure she is still married to Professor Eby. And she was actually sort of a small-time functionary of the party for a while.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you sit in closed Communist Party meetings with Professor Eby and this other professor?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you continue?

Mr. WHEELER. Please continue.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Karley A. Larsen was on the district bureau of the Communist Party. He was the representative of the labor section of the party. He was a member of the International Woodworkers of America, and vice president of that organization.

Well, Harry Jackson, of course. He was a functionary of the party. Actually, he was the labor secretary for the northwest district and was very, very close to Morris Rapport. I have heard from Harry Jackson that he and Morris Rapport were originally the people who had gotten Harry Bridges into the party when they were functioning

down in California prior to Morris Rappoport becoming district organizer in the Pacific Northwest. So there was no secret about his party affiliations.

Hugh DeLacy sat with me on the district bureau.

Mr. DOYLE. In closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. COSTIGAN. He was a member of the district bureau of the Communist Party, and while I have never seen a party card of Mr. DeLacy, because I didn't have one, and he didn't have one, as far as I know, nevertheless Hugh DeLacy, as far as I know, still is an active, functioning, hardworking, dedicated member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DOYLE. On the record. We will take 45 minutes for lunch at this time.

(Whereupon, a luncheon recess was taken.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. DOYLE. On the record.

Mr. JACKSON. I think at this time the record should show that Subcommittee Chairman Jackson entered the hearing at 2:25. Now off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JACKSON. On the record.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Costigan, will you continue to identify the members of the district bureau of the Communist Party during the period of time you were a member?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I had identified DeLacy on the record. It was not a continuing and static membership. There were people who were co-opted under the committee, and before the district bureau and served as temporary parts of the district bureau from 1937 to 1939, the time that I would have knowledge of; and if I could have my memory refreshed by anyone who remembers some of the other names I would know whether they were members of the district bureau. I did mention two professors of the University of Washington, who to my knowledge are still teaching on the faculty of the University of Washington, who in my opinion have not made satisfactory statements before committees, either of the State or of the Congress.

Mr. WHEELER. I believe you identified Mel Jacobs.

Mr. COSTIGAN. And Harold Eby and Hugh DeLacy. As a matter of fact, DeLacy was a teacher at the University of Washington.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall any other individuals?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I think I mentioned Karley Larsen.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, you did.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Jackson, Harold Jackson; I think it was Harold Jackson. Anyway, he was the labor organizer or labor secretary for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Harold or Harry?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Harry Jackson. And of course Morris Rappoport was on there. Lowell Wakefield served on the district bureau.

Jess Fletcher appeared before the district bureau on several occasions. He was never a member of the district bureau but I was conscious of the fact that he was an important member of the Communist Party in the labor movement. He was vice president of the BSEU.

Bill Pennock served on it in a minor capacity. He was more or less there as a kind of assistant to me, as a kind of secretary, would come in on occasions. But he actually was represented on the district bureau after he became head of the Old Age Pension Union.

There was a chap who was constantly at the beck and call of Morris Rappaport who I attempted to remember the other day and who at one time was a county organizer of the Communist Party in King County and who I am sure others could remember, and if anyone could recall his name to me I would know immediately about him, that he had been on the district bureau. Andy Remes was on the district bureau part of this time; assistant to Morris Rappaport in the district.

Lou Sass was also a top functionary in the northwest district and was on the district bureau.

Henry Huff was a section head of the Communist Party at that time, and whenever he was in Seattle he served, or attended meetings of the district bureau of the Communist Party. He just recently has been in the Smith Act trials.

Mr. WHEELER. Does that complete your testimony concerning the district bureau?

Mr. COSTIGAN. All I can remember. But I am perfectly willing to have anyone give me any additional names of people that the committee may have knowledge of or may have information about being in the Communist district bureau operations, and I should be happy to tell you whether or not I know they have been members of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever meet Mickey Orton?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHEELER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. He certainly was.

Mr. WHEELER. I refer to the testimony——

Mr. DOYLE. Did you sit with him in closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. And he was a leading officer of the International Woodworkers of America. I have forgotten—I think a vice president of the IWA.

Mr. WHEELER. I would like to refer to the testimony of Jess Fletcher in the first report of the un-American activities of Washington, 1948, page 179, where Mr. Fletcher is being questioned by the committee and he is relating an experience, or a meeting rather, that was held in the home of Mr. Costigan, and among those present were Hugh DeLacy, whom you have identified as a member of the Communist Party; Harry Jackson, whom you have identified as a member of the Communist Party; Mickey Orton, whom you have identified as a member of the Communist Party; and the witness Jess Fletcher.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Who I also identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. According to Mr. Fletcher's testimony, Mr. Harry Bridges was present at this meeting. Do you recall such a meeting?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. I recall that Bridges was up to my place on several occasions; many of them were social, and they were meetings that included rather broad groups of people. We had a number of people who would be present who were people I knew to be identified



members of the Communist Party. At that time I did not know him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall what the purpose of this meeting was?

Mr. COSTIGAN. No; I can't. There were so many meetings held at my place and at other places, as you will learn if you check the record, as many as 4 and 5 meetings a day, and I did at least 2 broadcasts a day and edited a newspaper. I was a comparatively busy citizen, and I met numerous occasions—I usually worked 18 hours a day.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Fletcher testified that this meeting, as he recalls, was called for the purpose of running Hugh DeLacy for city council.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Oh, I remember a meeting——

Mr. WHEELER. Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. COSTIGAN. For the purpose of running Hugh DeLacy for city council. He was then a teacher at the University of Washington.

Mr. WHEELER. What interest would Mr. Bridges have in running Hugh DeLacy as a member of the city council?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Because Bridges was interested in the promotion of what he considered to be a progressive political program at the level of the municipalities, as well as State levels, along the Pacific Coast where he had a concentration of members in the ILWU, and as a matter of fact the 1934 strike, general strike—wait a minute. Pardon me. I mean, the 1934 waterfront strike had its political repercussions in Seattle because the then mayor of Seattle, a Republican by the name of Charlie Smith, who subsequently became known as "Gas Bomb Charlie," threw gas bombs at the longshoremen and using his good quarterback arm from the University of Washington and his background of training for that purpose, and as a result I led a recall movement against Charlie Smith. That is the first time I became familiar with the waterfront situation. And we came within a whisker of getting it except the longshoremen had to go back to work and couldn't carry petitions any longer because the strike had been settled, and from that time on there was a continuing interest in the political nature of life of Seattle, including the removal of the city council who had supported Smith at the time, and DeLacy was approved as a candidate, as being a desirable person for the office, and he had some kind of direct involvement in some waterfront activities himself. I think at that time DeLacy had been a member of one of the maritime unions. He had made trips to Japan as a seaman.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he, at the time he was a candidate for mayor——

Mr. COSTIGAN. He wasn't a candidate for mayor. He was a candidate for city council.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the fact, if you know, as to whether or not at that time whether he was known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. He was known to me as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. At the time he became a candidate for city council?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Why was he known to you as that?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Because he had sat with me at district meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Closed meetings?

Mr. COSTIGAN. That is correct.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Fletcher also testified this meeting was called at the instance, to quote his testimony, of "Comrade Rapport."

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, "Comrade Rapport" was a district organizer of the Communist Party, and as a matter of fact Morris Rapport and I were very often in company, and I had many meetings with Morris Rapport. As a matter of fact, I had a meeting with Morris Rapport before the convention of the IWA was held in Portland, Oreg., and this, I think, is a piece of information that may relate to what you had in mind in your question. I was asked to—by Morris Rapport, or was told by Morris Rapport that I was to make the major political address at the International Woodworkers of America convention at Portland, Oreg., and would I mind riding down with him so we could discuss certain matters. So I rode down with him. And I was joined by Morris Rapport and Harry Jackson, who were with me. We proceeded to Portland together, and I was told then we would be meeting with Bill Schneiderman and Lambert. I don't know, I am always in trouble in knowing whether it is Rudy Lambert or the other Lambert. This one was labor organizer for the Communist Party for the California district. In any event, I was to meet with those two, and we were to meet with Harry Bridges, who would be there from California. So when we got to Portland we met with Harry Bridges and Harold Pritchett, who is the president of the International Woodworkers of America, and identified as a Communist Party member. And we held those meetings, as I vaguely recall, in the—well, there are two hotels, one across the street from each other, and one is new and the other one is old, and they are very well known hotels in Portland. Anyway, in any event, it was the hotel close to the hall where the convention was held.

Present at those meetings were only party functionaries, myself and Harry Bridges. So I would assume that this was a closed meeting of the Communist Party, and I was attending a Communist Party meeting.

Mr. WHEELER. Getting back to this particular meeting that was held at your home. Here we have Hugh DeLacy, who is a member of the district bureau; Howard Costigan, member of the district bureau; Harry Jackson, member of the district bureau; Jess Fletcher, whom you described as an important member of the Communist Party; and Mickey Orton. Now, the only person that you have not identified as a member of the Communist Party is Harry Bridges.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Because, as I think I already told you, as I said, at that time I did not know him to be a member of the Communist Party. I have never seen a card, and I can only say that at the meeting in Portland, which is the closest approximation in my mind to a closed Communist Party meeting at top level that I have ever attended on the west coast, that Bridges was one of those present, and all the others I knew to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. About when was that Portland meeting?

Mr. COSTIGAN. That would be the date of the convention. I was in Portland in 1937, or 1938, something like that. As I say, I talked to this convention every year and I keynoted most of them, politically, so I can't be sure.

Mr. WHEELER. On that point, who in that meeting that you have now referred to when Bridges was present, who else was in that meeting



that you did not know to be a Communist besides Bridges, if anybody?

Mr. COSTIGAN. This meeting—the New Hetman Hotel is the name of the hotel.

Mr. WHEELER. You understand the question?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. Well, actually I met in the room of Jim Molthan, M-o-l-t-h-a-n. He was an attorney. He was the attorney for the IWA, with offices in Seattle, and to my knowledge he was a member of the Communist Party. But Molthan was to be in the room—as a matter of fact, Molthan was out of the room when the conference was going on, but he did come and go, and I wish to attest to the fact that he returned to the room with Dick Neuberger in tow, and Dick was of course reporting then for the New York Times, and was its Northwest correspondent, and he was vitally interested in labor matters, and he opened the door and saw that we were still in conference in the room, and he then turned hastily to Neuberger, who probably got a peek of the countenances of the room figures, and said, "Look, there is something going on in my room. Let's go someplace else and talk."

Mr. WHEELER. Then, answering my question, was there anybody else in the room besides Bridges who—

Mr. COSTIGAN. Not in the continuing conference, but we did have runners from the IWA meeting, whom I couldn't positively identify, and they came and told us what was going on in committee meetings. And I think that is the only time I was present at a meeting with Bridges, and was for the purpose of outlining the basic questions that needed to be presented in the form of speech material and to be built into resolutions from the convention supporting the New Deal.

Mr. WHEELER. Now again, you have mentioned an attorney in Seattle—

Mr. COSTIGAN. James Molthan.

Mr. WHEELER. And you stated he was a Communist, but you didn't state how you knew.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I said I knew him. I know Jim very well, and he has talked to people of joining the Communist Party; was a member of the party for a relatively brief period of time. I mean, I don't think he would deny it.

Mr. WHEELER. I merely wanted to know your identification.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, personally, we have discussed his membership, why he couldn't get along with the party, why he didn't like the party, what was wrong with the party.

Mr. WHEELER. Did he ever get out of the party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes. And he has been a bitter opponent of it, been accused of being a Trotskyite as far as I know. He served in the Armed Forces during World War II. He was commissioned from the field, and he has been—if anything, he has been a more active and vigilant anti-Communist than most of the people that have been members of the party in the Northwest.

Mr. WHEELER. I would like to refer to the testimony of Kathryn Fogg, second report of the Un-American Activities Committee in the State of Washington. In response to a question Miss Fogg answered, "We were very active in the Commonwealth Federation."

Mr. COSTIGAN. Miss Fogg, for identification, isn't she the one who was a member of the State legislature?

Mr. WHEELER. Right. [Reading:]

We were very active in the Commonwealth Federation. And he was on the executive board of the Commonwealth Federation. We attended meetings and policy-forming meetings for the Federation. Howard Costigan, Hugh DeLacy, Bill Dobbins, Harold Eby, John Caughlan—I can't think of any more at the present time.

And then a question by Mr. Houston [reading]:

These were all members of the Communist Party, of your knowledge?

Miss Fogg. Yes.

With reference to John Caughlan, I would like for you to relate what knowledge you have of him.

Mr. COSTIGAN. The only way that I can effectively give you any real knowledge of John Caughlan is that Morris Rapport used to speak disparagingly of John Caughlan as being another one of those lawyers as being too legalistic in his approach to things. I have never seen his card, and I think it is just taken for granted in discussions, but I do not have, or directly know John Caughlan to be a member of the Communist Party; but I have no doubt that he was a member of the Communist Party because I felt that the criticism of Caughlan by Rapport at the time was related to him in a manner which would indicate that he, Rapport, knew him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. There again I want to indicate in the record that I doubt the advisability of including the name of the man as a member of the Communist Party that can't be positively identified.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Doyle, in regard to that, I read the sworn testimony of a former member of the Communist Party who identified Mr. Caughlan, and I was asking our present witness if he had any similar knowledge.

Mr. DOYLE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DOYLE. On the record.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you relate to the committee the reasons you left the Communist Party?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, yes. I left the Communist Party because I became clearly conscious of the fact that the Communist Party was an instrument of a foreign government which operated deceitfully and conspiratorially and which in effect was a force for reaction even greater than nazism ever was, precisely, because it appealed to the best in the people who were idealists and who joined the party and who subsequently obviously had to find out that the Communist Party was neither democratic nor American, and was in effect engaged in using their interest for the purpose of defeating those very ends.

Specifically, I left the Communist Party because of the Soviet-Nazi pact. It was clear to me that the Communist Party was not even anti-Fascist, and I had been very much against fascism.

I left it on a more intimate basis because I had been assigned to help build up a western conference to launch the campaign for Franklin Roosevelt. I had a series of conferences with people in Washington, D. C., including Norris, LaGuardia, and even La Follette, and even Burton Wheeler on the question of holding this western conference in Salt Lake City, and I found that after the Soviet-Nazi pact that all my friends on the Pacific coast, including Harry Bridges,

were opposed to such a conference, and were immediately charging Franklin Roosevelt as being the Nation's leading warmonger.

Mr. WHEELER. Have you been actively anti-Communist—

Mr. COSTIGAN. Ever since; more effective anti-Communist after the end of the war in which we were cobelligerents and coparticipants against the Nazis. Prior to that time any effort to openly place Communists in position of exposure meant you were immediately charged by those who were soft-headed with being pro-Nazi.

Mr. WHEELER. I have no further questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any questions, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that that you withdrew, Mr. Costigan?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I explained earlier.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, approximately.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, I said it was in 1940 when I left the Communist Party. As I say, I took over the—my first positive action in anti-Communist activity was the Norris-LaGuardia campaign in the reelection of Roosevelt.

Mr. DOYLE. In your activity against the Communist conspiracy, what form of activity did you take? Did you take cooperation with the FBI at any time?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, I have cooperated with the FBI.

Mr. DOYLE. Beginning how far back?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I don't know exactly. I don't know if I cooperated with the FBI until after the war. I have been available at any time for questions from the FBI since that time, and all other agencies of the United States Government; including Immigration.

Mr. DOYLE. In your wide experience—and I don't know that you are on the record any place yet with a congressional committee—

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am not.

Mr. DOYLE. From your wide experience, I know you have studied the problem, what have you to suggest, if anything, so far as the functioning of this House Un-American Activities Committee under Public Law 601? Give Congress the benefit of any suggestions you have.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, I would say first of all that it must be remembered that the Communist Party appeals to the best in the youth to entrap them into the party; that unfortunately, and too often, the political equipment of this country does not provide the means by which young people can become active in behalf of the correction of injustices without in some way or another being branded as Communists, and many of them finally get to the point where, if they feel that they wish to be active they must of course associate with active groups in the Communist active program, if they are active, and if they are not Communists they get branded as Communists, so they might as well have the game as the name, so to speak.

Until it is possible for conservatives of our Nation to realize that there must be a freedom for the expression of progressive and liberal ideas, in an effort to ameliorate conditions that otherwise give the Communists adequate soil in which to fortify, until that is done, I think we have got the only answer to solving the problem, and I would say it is, well, first that the progressive and liberal, particularly the American liberal, learn that under no circumstances—the Communist Party, the Communist instrument of progress or liberalism is, in



effect, the most reactionary force in the world. Then, on the other hand, I would say the ones most loud in their opposition to the Communist Party, who are unknowledgable of its appeal to the young idealist, and who are ready to acquaint as Communists any expression of liberalism, that those persons are unconsciously aiding the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me direct a question to you, because of the lack of time at this time. Will you give, as briefly and distinctly as you can, your suggestion as to what, if anything there is that this committee can do to improve our processes or methods. That is what I am after, Mr. Costigan.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I would say, first of all, to be certain that when one is branded a Communist, you be certain such a person is a Communist. Second, that every effort be made to give those who have even been, as idealists, have been members of the Communist Party, a chance to rehabilitate themselves.

Mr. JACKSON. Isn't it a fact, Mr. Costigan, that the committee has done exactly that?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Within my knowledge, Congressmen, and I can only limit that knowledge to the area of information that you and I both know of, which is the west coast of the United States, in this period, particularly with reference to Hollywood, I would say, and I have so said, that to my knowledge the committee has never called a person who has not been previously positively identified by at least two separate persons who would have knowledge of that person's membership, never has called them a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. I am very happy to have that on the record, because this is a popular misconception in some quarters, that this committee is on a fishing expedition and it is simply a matter of taking someone off the street corner and hauling him before the committee. I think it is very important that it be clearly understood in the record that this is not the procedure of this committee, and you are in a unique position, by virtue of your excellent work that you have done here on the west coast, to do much to dissipate that concept. And I think you have adequately done it in your statement. But I think it is important.

Mr. COSTIGAN. And I shall continue to do so, because I think the work of this committee, following its true purpose, is most essential to the future security of the United States in this period of great crisis.

Mr. DOYLE. And you feel that that policy, you believe, that we follow, of requiring at least the identification of two is essential?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I certainly think it is very sound.

Mr. DOYLE. And fair and just and reasonable?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I think it is most sound. I think it is probably—I mean, the information I have about other committees, both State and congressional, incline me to believe that this is a policy which your committee was inaugurated and which might well be followed by other committees of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any criticism or any other advice to the committee as to how we can improve our processes?

Mr. COSTIGAN. I think not in the committee's own forum of official proceedings. But I think it would be well for some members of the committee—I have reference now in the dim past to a member or two of the committee, in fact a couple of chairmen of the committee, who



arrogated unto themselves a right to speak for the entire committee, more or less officially, in public meetings, away from the confines of the committee hearing rooms and to make what I consider to be unfortunate statements which have caused a certain amount of public opprobrium to be attached to the committee which, I believe does harm to the committee's, shall we say, effective function.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any other observations that you want to give us as to ways and means by which you believe we could strengthen our processes?

Mr. COSTIGAN. Well, you are probably asking me inferentially about whether I think the confrontation of witnesses——

Mr. DOYLE. Any considered opinion you may have.

Mr. COSTIGAN. My opinion is, however, that this is not the function of the legislative committee, but is a function of the court. I think it would mean an endless amount of wasted time of the committee, which, unfortunately, if it covers all of the ground it is going to be extremely busy, and I think it is sufficient that legal counsel be permitted to attend those witnesses who wish legal counsel, and that they be given an opportunity, when accused, and if they feel falsely accused, to make the record by appearing voluntarily before the committee, and I believe the committee has been fair and permitted anyone so accused to come before the committee and make whatever explanation he wishes, or to deny the charges of any previous witness. I——

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask that where you use the word "accused" that you use the word "named"; no accusation being leveled.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Yes, you are quite correct, sir. Anyone who is named in the records of the committee as a member of the party, you see.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. COSTIGAN. He should have the right to correct the record if it is to be corrected.

Mr. JACKSON. The rules of the committee adopted early last year specifically set forth the fact that any individual who is named for the first time in open hearings shall be notified at the earliest practical moment to the last address of record of the fact that he was named, by whom named and the name of the organization with which he is alleged to have been associated, and that information furnished to him.

I would like to know whether your remark on the question of confrontation of witnesses is extended to the matter of cross-examination of witnesses. That is a question which is being discussed at length now. I might say that it is my personal opinion, that in an investigation of the sort conducted by this committee that it is not practicable, for a number of reasons, to permit cross-examination, particularly of those witnesses who quite obviously have no intention of cooperating with the committee. I should like to know now, out of your own experience, extensive experience in the party, whether cross-examination would be conducted in good faith.

Mr. COSTIGAN. By the Communist Party?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Not at all. This is one piece of information that I will volunteer: To my knowledge the Communist Party on the day-to-day operations does not pick non-Communist attorneys. The Communist Party does, on exceptional occasions, where there is a great, shall we say, public relations problem at stake, pick non-Communists to represent them, such as in hearings before the Supreme Court, where

Wendell Willkie, who was obviously never a member of the Communist Party, was picked to handle the Schneiderman case by the Communists. But in the usual run of the mill operations of the party it is assumed that the party should always have the right to expect its own attorneys to put the party's program above the law.

Now, I can cite a specific instance of this: At one time there was a conference on a subject affecting two rival law firms in the Pacific Northwest, both of whom had to do with handling the business of unions which were dominated by the Communist Party. During the course of this hassle, at the district bureau, and it is read as such things get to the district bureau, it was the observation of Morris Rapport, the then organizer for the Communist Party for the Northwest district of the United States, that it must be read, one, that the reason that we require Communist Party membership of our continuing battery of attorneys is that the time comes quite often when it is to the interest of the party, in the furthering of its objectives, to place the law second and the party interest first: so that often enough it becomes the duty of a party member, who is also a lawyer, to act in an illegal, or, shall we say, unethical manner as far as the bar is concerned, because his first devotion, as is the devotion of all continuing members, is to the party first and to their labor union, the bar, the church, or anything else they may be a member of, as far as the public knowledge is concerned, that must be placed second.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee has had abundant evidence of that type of conduct. Now, to what purpose would cross-examination be used by a Communist lawyer?

Mr. COSTIGAN. For the purpose of discrediting the adverse witness to the party's position, dragging in any kind of inferential material that would be smear techniques if used by the others in the party itself, even as to whether or not he was a chronic dypsomaniac, rapist, or any other items; or use any other fraud in getting the witness, anything that is not germane to the case, but that doesn't bother a legal light of the party. And what is often enough true is that it is false material which no one, under the rules of your committee, would have a chance if you permitted to have this latitude on cross-examination.

Mr. JACKSON. I should like to make it clear on this point. before I leave it, Mr. Doyle, that I personally am not opposed to cross-examination of witnesses who are cooperating in order to clear up points which may not have been made clear in the original testimony of the identifying witness and such instances, I imagine, do occur from time to time. But I can see no valid reason for permitting cross-examination by irrational, cantakerous attorneys for equally cantakerous and irrational witnesses who have not cooperated in any way and obviously have no intention of cooperating with the committee.

Mr. COSTIGAN. The purpose of such attorneys, as often enough the purpose of such of the adverse witnesses, is to use the hearing as a forum to reach as many people as they can for the purpose of discrediting the committee, the purpose, and even the Government of the United States.

Mr. DOYLE. As you now know, Mr. Chairman, one of my suggested rules was that the committee adopt some rule which would allow the attorney of a friendly witness to have not more than 5 minutes with which to bring out any testimony which the friendly witness, that the attorney knew of that the friendly witness hadn't volunteered to

the committee. And I am glad to hear you say that you favor that in principle.

May I ask you this question, Mr. Costigan: Do I understand that you go to the point of saying under oath that where a Communist attorney appears before our committee—

Mr. COSTIGAN. You mean an attorney for the Communist Party? Is that what you mean?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. And you have said that the ordinary run of the mill of attorneys who do appear to defend Communists—

Mr. COSTIGAN. Within my knowledge.

Mr. DOYLE. Within your knowledge. All right. And you certainly have a lot of knowledge about it. Do I understand that you are telling us, under oath, that those attorneys, by and large, have advised their clients before this committee, under oath, to put their Communist Party oath ahead of their respect and obedience to established law, either State or National?

Mr. COSTIGAN. If both, in a hypothetical case, are members of a Communist Party—that is, your witness and his attorney who appears, both would be not only remiss, but would be subject to being dragged before a control commission—

Mr. JACKSON. Disciplinary body?

Mr. COSTIGAN. In other words, they would be considered to be acting in a fashion which, if I may coin a phrase, was uncommunistic—not un-American, but uncommunistic.

Mr. JACKSON. Manifestly the reason I asked that question was to have a restatement of that. As you know, I am not a lawyer myself, and I am shocked to hear you say it.

Mr. COSTIGAN. I am shocked that it is true. But it is unfortunately true.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Costigan, may I say, on behalf of the committee, how much we appreciate your testimony. I think all of us are cognizant of the tremendous and effective effort that you and your associates have put forth in the anti-Communist fight. By virtue of your own membership, long association with the Communist Party, you are in a position to render a unique and significant service. This appearance today is a portion of it. Your cooperation with the other Government security agencies is additional evidence of your faith. I want to, on behalf of the full Committee on Un-American Activities, and the House of Representatives to extend to you our expression of grateful thanks, and I am sure that you will hold yourself in readiness to cooperate in the future, as you have in the past, with the committee.

Mr. COSTIGAN. Mr. Jackson, I want it to be expressly understood that I am willing and anxious to be placed under oath at any time to further the investigation of this committee on Communist activities in the United States.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

(Whereupon the executive session was adjourned until 4 p. m., the same day.)





# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

## EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 4 p. m., in room 1484, Statler Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., Hon. Clyde Doyle presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Clyde Doyle.

Staff member present: William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. COHEN. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH BOGGS COHEN

Mr. WHEELER. State your full name.

Mrs. COHEN. Elizabeth Boggs Cohen.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you state where you were born?

Mrs. COHEN. Lakeside, Wash.

Mr. WHEELER. And will you tell the committee your educational background?

Mrs. COHEN. Lafayette Grammar School in Seattle, West Seattle High School, and University of Washington.

Mr. WHEELER. And did you graduate from the University of Washington?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. In what year?

Mrs. COHEN. 1935.

Mr. WHEELER. What has been your employment background?

Mrs. COHEN. I worked for the Seattle Girl Scouts, for the American Radio Telegraphers Association, the timber workers, and the Communist Party, all in Seattle; and in Los Angeles for the Children's Home Society.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you leave the city of Seattle?

Mrs. COHEN. In 1942.

Mr. WHEELER. And since 1942 you have lived in southern California?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee.

Mr. WHEELER. What year did you join the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. In the fall of 1935.

Mr. WHEELER. I see you are not represented by counsel. I would like to advise you that all witnesses are entitled to counsel if they so desire.

Mrs. COHEN. I don't think I need counsel, Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. WHEELER. You are presently subpoenaed before the committee?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Have you cooperated with the committee prior to this date?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes; I made a sworn statement to them previously.

Mr. WHEELER. That was April 16, 1952?

Mrs. COHEN. Right.

Mr. WHEELER. And you have been in contact with the FBI?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes; previous to that.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. A man by the name of Paul Linderman.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you further describe who he is, or was?

Mrs. COHEN. I think at that time he was a social worker.

Mr. WHEELER. In the city of Seattle?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. What interested you in becoming a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. At that time the Communist Party represented itself as an anti-Fascist organization, as an American political party, and as a party, what they called the Democratic Front, which was interested in all anti-Fascist activities and in improving the lot of most people in this country during the depression.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, were you assigned to any particular unit or group of the party after you became a member?

Mrs. COHEN. They sent me first to a new members group. I think I went about twice; wasn't interested in the unit, and left; told them I didn't like it.

So then they assigned me to a neighborhood group, I guess you would call it, in a legislative district.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall what district that was in?

Mrs. COHEN. I don't remember the legislative number of it. It was in the Montlake district of Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the officers were of this unit?

Mrs. COHEN. I am not sure. I think Paul Linderman was in it. Dr. David Hersh, a dentist, was in it. There were some social workers, Alice Gundlach, and Glennette Hill, another social worker; and at various times it was visited by Al Bristol, the county organizer.

Mr. WHEELER. What was the total strength of this group?

Mrs. COHEN. As far as I remember, about 15, approximately.

Mr. WHEELER. And how long were you a member of this particular unit?

Mrs. COHEN. I'd say, oh, 6 months.

Mr. WHEELER. What was your subsequent assignment?

Mrs. COHEN. The county organizer, Al Bristol, asked me if I would become membership chairman for the county.

Mr. WHEELER. And did you accept that position?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And how long did you remain on the county membership committee? Or how long were you a membership chairman?

Mrs. COHEN. Several years, as far as I remember.

Mr. WHEELER. And during that period of time were you a member of any unit or branch of the party?

Mrs. COHEN. I must have been; although, my main job was going around to the various groups in the city and helping with membership problems there.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, who were the rest of the individuals who were members of the membership committee?

Mrs. COHEN. Gladys Pettus, who was an office secretary; Reba Baxter; Helen Hill. Since it was a small committee, I think that was about all.

Mr. WHEELER. Were these paid employees of the Communist Party, or did—

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall what Reba Baxter was, whether she was employed, on whose pay—

Mrs. COHEN. Housewife. She was married to Whitey Baxter, who was the waterfront organizer for the party and, I think, a seaman.

Mr. WHEELER. How about Helen Hill?

Mrs. COHEN. Helen Hill was on the membership committee late in my membership of it, and after me became the chairman of it; followed me as chairman.

Mr. WHEELER. Was there anyone else closely associated with this committee, its functions?

Mrs. COHEN. The finance committee was always closely connected with the membership committee because each member was accounted a member by the dues that they paid each week. And the county finance chairman was Helga Phillips; and the district chairman—the district included, of course, Washington and Oregon—was Lenna Eby.

Mr. WHEELER. Can you further identify Miss or Mrs. Eby?

Mrs. COHEN. Mrs. Eby was the wife of Harold Eby, who is in the English department at the University of Washington.

Mr. WHEELER. Was he known as a member of the Communist Party to you—Harold Eby?

Mrs. COHEN. I would say he was because later he attended district committee meetings. He was what would be called, I think, a protected member in that he was not generally known to party members as a member.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you employed by the Girl Scouts during this period of time?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Did being a member of the Communist Party influence you in any way in your instructions or work within the Girl Scouts?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you become a paid employee of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes. Later on here they asked me if I would be the office secretary for the county; which I did.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you paid well?

Mrs. COHEN. \$10 a week.

Mr. WHEELER. What were your duties as secretary?

Mrs. COHEN. We put out the waterfront mimeographed paper. We mimeographed all of the instructions to the branches each week, to the neighborhood groups. I attended all of the county committee meetings.

Mr. WHEELER. Was this paper put out to the waterfront, was it an official publication of the Communist Party, so designated on the paper?

Mrs. COHEN. The heading of the paper stated that it was put out by the waterfront section of the Communist Party. Whether or not that makes it an official publication, I couldn't know.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, it was printed by the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. Written, printed, and distributed by the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. They were responsible for its distribution?

Mrs. COHEN. They were responsible for its distribution.

Mr. WHEELER. And while working on this paper did you meet individuals connected with the waterfront who assisted you in any way?

Mrs. COHEN. Whitey Baxter and Blacky Cannelonga were both connected with the waterfront; and Ernie Fox was the district trade union director; and Harry Jackson, full-time party functionary for the district; and Charlie Legg, also a trade unionist, and they were all concerned with the waterfront trade unions.

I would put it, Mr. Wheeler, that I assisted them rather than they assisted me.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was responsible for getting you in this position?

Mrs. COHEN. Al Bristol.

Mr. WHEELER. Was it considered a promotion?

Mrs. COHEN. I think they considered that I was willing to do an awful lot of work, that I was fairly responsible—yes, I would call it halfway a promotion.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, I noticed, or you have testified that you worked for the Timber Worker. What is the Timber Worker?

Mrs. COHEN. The Timber Worker is the official paper of the ILWA, International Lumber and Woodworkers of America. Those are all—Washington is a wood State, as you know, so all of the unions, both in this country and in Canada, were affiliated with that. They had this weekly newspaper which they put out.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you a member of the Communist Party while employed by the Timber Worker?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was the president of the union?

Mrs. COHEN. Harold Pritchett.

Mr. WHEELER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. I assumed that he was; but as far as I know, I didn't ever see him at a party meeting; not even any of the District meetings. Put it this way: I know that he talked with Morris Rapport, the district organizer, consulted with him, and with other trade unionists whom I did not know as party members.

Mr. WHEELER. How did you get this job?

Mrs. COHEN. Several party members were employed as secretaries in that office, and I was a bookkeeper for the Timber Worker.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the other party members were?



Mrs. COHEN. Yes; a girl whom I mentioned before, Gladys Pettus. Gladys Pettus was Harold Pritchett's secretary. Kate Telford, although she used the name Kate Bell, and she was in the office and I knew her to be a party member because she collected money.

I have got Harold Pritchett down because she collected money from him which went direct to the district. But Harold Pritchett was another member who was not known as a party member, and I think his only activity was contributing money.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, do you recall any of the officials of the union who were members of the Communist Party? That is, the ILWA.

Mrs. COHEN. I don't know that I ever—

Mr. WHEELER. How about Mickey Orton?

Mrs. COHEN. Mickey Orton was a vice president.

Mr. WHEELER. How about Charlie Hanson?

Mrs. COHEN. Charlie Hanson? Yes, he was a member of that union. His local was one of those from down in the Grays Harbor area, I think.

I don't recall any other at this time.

Mr. WHEELER. You have testified you were chairman of the King County membership committee. How long were you membership chairman?

Mrs. COHEN. Approximately 2 years.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the membership of the Communist Party in Seattle at that time?

Mrs. COHEN. When I became chairman, approximately 200; and during the 2 years I think it grew to about 1,200.

Mr. WHEELER. What 2 years was this?

Mrs. COHEN. At a guess, from 1936 to 1938.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, during the period of time that you served as chairman of the King County membership committee you would be in a position to meet many organizers and functionaries of the party; is that right?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you advise the committee of all of the Communist Party functionaries you became acquainted with and their position, if you can recall?

Mrs. COHEN. Morris Rappaport was the district organizer.

Mr. WHEELER. Was he also known as Morris Rappaport?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes. And I believe that Rappaport was his correct name; that is, his legal name. Rappaport was used to simplify and make it easier.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you continue, please?

Mrs. COHEN. Louise Sass was district organizational secretary; Harry Jackson, trade union functionary; Andy Remes, district educational director; Bob Roberts, district literature director; Henry Huff, Aberdeen section organizer and member of the district committee; Barbara Hartle, Spokane County organizer and member of the district committee; James Murphy, Portland section organizer and member of the district committee; Phyl Gillette, secretary to Morris Rappaport, a woman; Al Bristol, King County section organizer; Mary Sass, King County organizational secretary; Gretchen Hill, King County literature director; and Whitey Baxter, full-time waterfront organizer.

Mr. WHEELER. Are these the people you identify as functionaries within the party during that time?

Mrs. COHEN. Full-time functionaries.

Mr. WHEELER. During this period of time did you meet other individuals whom you can identify as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. From national headquarters in New York I met Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker; Earl Browder from the national committee; William Z. Foster from the national committee; Roy Hudson, national trade union director; Jack Stachel, a member of the national committee.

And members of the district committee with whom I met when I was a member of the district committee were Harold Brockway from the Workers' Alliance; Carl Brooks, chairman of the Negro commission; Hugh De Lacy, president of the Washington Commonwealth Federation and later a city councilman and national Congressman; Eugene Dennett, a trade unionist; Bill Dobbins, building service employees union; Harold Eby from the English department at the University of Washington; Ernie Fox, waterfront trade unionist; Barbara Hartle, whom I mentioned previously; Henry Huff from Aberdeen, previously identified; James Murphy from Portland, previously identified; Glen Kinney from the machinists union; Bill Pennock, old-age pension unit who later became State legislator.

Among the trade union people that I knew, the office workers were Irene Borowski, Washington Commonwealth Federation office; Harriet Dennett, wife of Eugene Dennett; Elsie Fox, wife of Ernie Fox; Kate Telford, who worked in the office of the International Woodworkers of America; and Jessie Harris. And I don't think I know where she worked.

Other trade unionists were Merwin Cole from the Building Service Employees Union; James Cour, a newspaperman; Jess Fletcher, Building Service Employees Union; Nat Honig, newspaperman; Elen McGrath, newspaper reporter; Mickey Orton, International Woodworkers of America; Walter Stack, one of the waterfront unions; Sam Telford, husband of Kate Telford, and one of the waterfront unions; and Burt Nelson, international longshoremen's union.

Others that I met as Communists were H. C. Armstrong, Washington Commonwealth Federation; N. P. Atkinson, [American] League Against War and Fascism, and that gave him the WCF; John Brockway from Bellingham, and active in the WCF, and brother of Harold Brockway; Celeste Brooks, wife of Carl Brooks; John Caughlan, attorney; Dick Correll, an artist, and his wife, Alice Correll; Howard Costigan from the WCF; Baba Jeanne Sears, who later became the organizer for Pierce County; Margaret Haglund, [American] League Against War and Fascism; Harvey Jackins, youth leader; Byrd Kelso from the Workers' Alliance; Terry Pettus, newspaperman and editor of the New Dealer, and brother of Gladys Pettus; Lowell Wakefield, a newspaperman and editor of the Voice of Action; and Ben Golden, who worked in the book store.

Mr. WHEELER. With regard to these people that have been mentioned by you, you attended closed Communist Party meetings with all of them?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes; either county committee meetings, and some of them district committee meetings, or party conferences of one type or another.

Mr. WHEELER. Were they meetings closed to Communist Party members?

Mrs. COHEN. Most of them were.

Mr. WHEELER. Could you elaborate somewhat on John Caughlan?

Mrs. COHEN. John Caughlan was recognized as the attorney who handled the Communist Party business. I met him at various conferences with Morris Rappport. I am certain in my own mind that he is a member, and I think without doubt at one time or another he must have come to county conventions.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you ever recall him appearing at the headquarters of the Communist Party on Communist Party business?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes. It was in connection, however, with a law case that the Communist Party was involved in, which he would come as a lawyer. I don't think I can place him as coming on business not connected with a law practice.

Mr. WHEELER. Can you place him at Communist Party meetings which were not connected with law practice?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes, I think a county committee meeting or a county convention. I am virtually certain that I can say he was there. But dates——

Mr. WHEELER. Can you recall at this time any individuals who were organizers of various legislative sections in King County?

Mrs. COHEN. I couldn't give you the numbers of the legislative sections from this far away, but the people who I remember who were organizers at various times of legislative sections were Dick Correll——

Mr. WHEELER. Could you further identify him?

Mrs. COHEN. Dick Correll was the artist I mentioned before. John Daschbach, and I think he was in one of the legislative sections in northern Seattle—I can't identify him further—Victor Hicks, from one of the central legislative districts in Seattle; Clayton Van Lydegraf, who later became a full-time county functionary; Ruth Roark, in the university section; Bill Roark, her brother——

Mr. WHEELER. Were they students of the University of Washington?

Mrs. COHEN. No, this was after university time.

Mr. WHEELER. This university section is just a designated community close to the university?

Mrs. COHEN. That is correct. Otto Pakkala, from Rainier Valley section of Seattle; James Ellison, Pierce County section organizer; Max Olson, chairman of the YCL, the Young Communist League; James West, chairman of the YCL after Max Olson; Phil Frankfeld became the district organizer after Andy Remes, and just before I left Seattle; Cecil Jay, and I can't remember which section; Claude Smith, who was a newspaper man and probably chairman of the sections which included groups organized, not on a legislative basis, but on an industrial basis; Rachmiel Forschmiedt and his wife, who were in the west Seattle section; John Laurie, chairman of the King County committee——

Mr. WHEELER. John Laurie, Jr. or——

Mrs. COHEN. Senior.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you know his son?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Go on.

Mrs. COHEN. And Hazel Wolfe from the Workers' Alliance.



Mr. WHEELER. What other positions did you hold in the Communist Party, if any?

Mrs. COHEN. I was the section organizer in the west Seattle section.

Mr. WHEELER. What did the west Seattle section encompass?

Mrs. COHEN. About 4 or 5 groups in the legislative district in that part of Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. Was it the industrial part of Seattle or residential?

Mrs. COHEN. Residential.

Mr. WHEELER. And can you recall the individuals who were members of this particular section?

Mrs. COHEN. Mabel Conrad, a housewife; Mabel Jenson, I heard that she later worked for the Old Age Pension; but when I knew her she was just a housewife. And Mr. and Mrs. Al Hester.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who any of the officials were in this district?

Mrs. COHEN. No, I'm afraid I can't now.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you have any occasion to run for a public office in Seattle?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes. I ran for the city council in February of 1940. Although this was a nonpartisan election it was generally understood that I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, did the Communist Party request that you run for this office?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And by what medium were you selected, do you recall?

Mrs. COHEN. I was just asked by Morris Rapport.

Mr. WHEELER. How did you do in the election?

Mrs. COHEN. I didn't make the finals. I think I ran about seventh in the field of 12 in the primaries.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, when did you state that you left Seattle?

Mrs. COHEN. In 1942.

Mr. WHEELER. What was your reaction to the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939?

I might ask you this question first: What was the official party position regarding the rise of Hitler prior to the pact?

Mrs. COHEN. The party's position toward Hitler was one of extreme opposition. He was considered a dictator of the worst Fascist kind.

Mr. WHEELER. As a member of the Communist Party, you were in accord with this program?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. What was your reaction to the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939?

Mrs. COHEN. The reaction which I shared was one of complete shock and disbelief until the official explanation came out, which was that the Soviet Union was simply sparring for time.

Mr. WHEELER. This was acceptable to you?

Mrs. COHEN. Not entirely.

Mr. WHEELER. Did the Communist Party do anything during the pact to slow down the production of war materials being sent to England? I mean, what was their reaction to our—not active participation—but certainly there was participation on behalf of our Government. Were they in accord with military training?



Mrs. COHEN. No, I don't think they were.

Mr. WHEELER. Were they in accord with our assistance to Great Britain?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. What was their position in regard to strikes?

Mrs. COHEN. They must have been against any aid that we could give Britain, and therefore, in accord and giving approval to any slow-down or—I wouldn't say actual sabotage, although that may have occurred—any slowdown in the production of war materials in this country, or their delivery to Great Britain.

Mr. WHEELER. What was their attitude toward President Roosevelt?

Mrs. COHEN. As far as I know, they always supported him.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you know whom they supported in the 1940 campaign?

Mrs. COHEN. They always—as far as I can remember, they always ran their own candidate. There were many individual members of the Communist Party who supported Roosevelt, but the position in general was so against war that at that time they called him a war-monger; and the slogans were that the Yanks were not coming; and there was a great determination to stay out of what they called an imperialist war. It was not our war, they said.

Mr. WHEELER. In your opinion, why did the Communist Party take this position?

Mrs. COHEN. Probably because they were supporting the nonaggression pact of the Soviet Union and Germany, which was then in effect.

Mr. WHEELER. In other words, they were completely subservient to the dictates of a foreign power.

Mrs. COHEN. That I agree with entirely. Any position which the Soviet Union took was immediately reflected in official directives given out by the national committee in this country, and carried down to all of the branches and to all of the members of the party.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, what happened when Hitler invaded Russia?

Mrs. COHEN. Immediately the party turned and became ardent supporters of the fight against Germany.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall if they demanded a second front immediately?

Mrs. COHEN. They demanded it so much that it became one of the major slogans, and if actually carried out probably an embarrassment to the strategical conduct of the war.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, you have testified that you moved to southern California in 1942, I believe.

Mrs. COHEN. Right.

Mr. WHEELER. Was this done with the knowledge and consent of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes. They issued an official transfer from Seattle to Los Angeles.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you have to obtain the consent of the Communist Party for such a move?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And how did you reestablish contact with the Communist Party in the city of Los Angeles?

Mr. COHEN. By reporting to the county office and the organizational secretary in Los Angeles.

Mr. WHEELER. And who was that?

Mrs. COHEN. That was Max Silver.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you assigned to any particular group by Mr. Silver?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes. He sent me out to a medical group.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you a member of this medical group?

Mrs. COHEN. About a year, I think.

Mr. WHEELER. And do you recall who the members of the medical group were?

Mrs. COHEN. The ones that I can remember now are Dr. Louise Light, Dr. Murray Abowitz, Dr. Leo Bigelman, Bea Goodlaw, the wife of Dr. Goodlaw, Dr. Edward Goodlaw, Dr. Simson Marcus, Dr. Hy Engelberg, Dr. Gordon Rosenblum, and his wife, Dr. Jacob Druckman, Dr. Sidney Druckman, and Dr. Jack Nedelman.

Mr. WHEELER. All of these doctors practice in the city of Los Angeles?

Mrs. COHEN. As far as I know; yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And you attended Communist Party meetings with them?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you hold any position in this group?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. After you left his group, which would be approximately the first quarter of 1943, what did you do then?

Mrs. COHEN. Then I joined the Wacs.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you discuss your enlistment in the Wacs with the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you in the Wacs?

Mrs. COHEN. About 7 months.

Mr. WHEELER. And what type of discharge did you receive?

Mrs. COHEN. Honorable discharge.

Mr. WHEELER. Was there any Communist activity in your behalf while you were a member of the Wacs?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Was there any evident to you in the Wacs?

Mrs. COHEN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you reaffiliate with the Communist Party after your discharge?

Mrs. COHEN. When I came back I was approached by Elizabeth Glenn, who was having trouble with a musicians' group in Hollywood, and she asked me if I would help reorganize it.

Mr. WHEELER. This would be in the fall of 1943? Is that the approximate date?

Mrs. COHEN. Approximately; yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Was this the last group that you were in?

Mrs. COHEN. I think that when that group either disbanded or was sent to another section, I was sent to a neighborhood group, which I attended irregularly, and dropped out fairly quickly. I had really been disinterested in taking any part in Communist Party activity after I came back, and had taken the previous job only under urging.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you associated with the musicians' group of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. About 6 months, I think.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you have any success in the reorganization of this group?

Mrs. COHEN. Not much. They were pretty disorganized, a disorganized outfit, and weren't really interested in functioning as a group.

Mr. WHEELER. And who were the members of this group, as you recall?

Mrs. COHEN. I recall a few of them: Morris Browda, Sam Siegel, Cyril Towbin, and Herbert Offner.

Mr. WHEELER. Were these musicians members of the Musicians' Union?

Mrs. COHEN. I believe they were.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, I believe you said you were subsequently transferred, or became a member of the neighborhood group.

Mrs. COHEN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the official designation of this group?

Mrs. COHEN. No, I don't.

Mr. WHEELER. Approximately how long were you a member?

Mrs. COHEN. I probably attended for about 6 months, irregularly, and dropped out completely.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you, approximately, place a date of your severance from the Communist Party in the fall of 1944—is that approximately correct?

Mrs. COHEN. That's the latest that my recollection is, as to the latest time that I was going. Whether or not they kept my name into 1945, I don't know. They often did that. But late 1944 or early 1945 is the best of my recollection when I dropped out—as a gradual process.

Mr. WHEELER. How many members were in this neighborhood group?

Mrs. COHEN. About 20.

Mr. WHEELER. And do you recall the identity of any of them?

Mrs. COHEN. Bea Hammer is the one I remember best, because we held most of the meetings at her house. She was the wife of Al Hammer. And those two were the only ones that I got really acquainted with, and the only ones whose names I remember.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall Al Hammer by another name?

Mrs. COHEN. I didn't.

Mr. WHEELER. What was his profession?

Mrs. COHEN. Actor.

Mr. WHEELER. You have testified that you attended these meetings irregularly of this last group which you remember of, for approximately 6 months. What caused your irregular attendance?

Mrs. COHEN. I was very, very much fed up with everything that was going on, completely disillusioned with the Communist Party as I had thought it was when I joined. I was convinced that it was dominated, actually and ideologically, by the Soviet Union. I had become very much antagonized by individuals and the way they behaved, by the party line. I was never much of a theoretician or politician, actually. The idealism with which I went into it had rubbed off and I decided any reasons that I thought I had for joining were completely invalid.



At one time I had thought that the party was a legitimate political party for American people, and I knew then, and know now, that that is not true.

Mr. WHEELER. What do you base this conclusion on?

Mrs. COHEN. The first reason, I suppose, is the complete switch that this party would make, ideologically, every time the Soviet Union would make a switch. It was like the tail of a dog being wagged by—that's an awfully mixed-up metaphor—as if this country was being wagged by the Soviet Union; and I wasn't for that. It was probably immediately at that time influenced by the ousting of Earl Browder, which was simply one indication of the domination of the American party by the Soviet Union, because the theoretical line of it, that this was an American party and that it would live side by side with the Soviet Union, was discarded.

Mr. WHEELER. You have mentioned the Duclos letter. How did that change the policy of the Communist Party?

Mrs. COHEN. The Duclos letter, which originated with Jacques Duclos in France, a French Communist, indicated that the Browder theory that communism and capitalism could live side by side was totally incorrect; that the Communist Party of the United States had been wrong all the time. Earl Browder, as its exponent, was fired; and the American party was supposed to go back to the first principles of revolution activity and the overthrow of capitalism and, therefore, became an immediate threat to the Government of the United States.

This was so far removed from the concept of the democratic front which had been advanced by the Communist Party in 1935—although I now became convinced that this was an underlying aim of the party all along, that the democratic front was the phase which it had assumed at that time to win support among the American people.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you have anything else that you would like to say for the record?

Mrs. COHEN. I would like to say that at the time that I was in the Army I was appointed an undercover security person. The job that I had was to report weekly any conversations or activity which I might hear or observe which were contrary to the interests of the United States, or interfere with the prosecution of the war. What they had in mind might have been talk within the Women's Army Corps, or talk of civilians that we might hear; and we were to report all of those things. It could have been either Fascist or Communist, anything which would seem to be un-American must be reported. I was diligent in making my reports, without having anything specific to report. At that time, I think I was unaware of any Communist Party activity which was detrimental to the United States, but if I had known it I would have certainly reported it.

Mr. WHEELER. How do you explain your reassociation with the Communist Party after your discharge?

Mrs. COHEN. When I came back I was extremely reluctant and unwilling to do any work. When I left I felt that I was severing all connections. As far as I was concerned, I was out of the party.

The pressure which was put on me was not of a political nature but was of an organizational nature, and I protested against it but they felt that I could, simply as a chairman of a difficult group, hold them



together for a short period of time, and I finally consented. I was unhappy in the job. I feel I was unsuccessful in doing anything about it, and wished to leave as soon as I could.

Mr. WHEELER. Mrs. Cohen, on behalf of the members of the sub-committee, and the members of the committee, I would like to express our sincere thanks for you appearing here today and giving us the benefit of the knowledge you possess of the Communist Party. Your testimony here will be of great assistance to us in our forthcoming investigation of communism in the State of Washington.

It is only by people like you who give information of this type to Congress that we are able to operate successfully in our obligation under the laws of the United States, and I wish to thank you. And good luck.

Mrs. COHEN. Thank you.

(Whereupon the executive session was adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)



# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA--Part 1

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

## EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 p. m., in room 1484, Statler Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., Hon. Clyde Doyle presiding.

Committee member present: Representative Clyde Doyle.

Staff member present: William A. Wheeler, investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILDMAN. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF LEONARD BASIL WILDMAN

Mr. DOYLE. May the record show this is a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee authorized under Public Law 601; the subcommittee consisting of Representative Jackson, member of the committee, of California, and Representative Doyle, a member of the committee. Mr. Jackson is temporarily absent from the committee, and committee member Doyle is presiding at this hearing at the request of Representative Jackson, the subcommittee chairman.

Mr. WHEELER. State your full name.

Mr. WILDMAN. Leonard Basil Wildman.

Mr. WHEELER. And where were you born?

Mr. WILDMAN. Minatare, Nebr.

Mr. WHEELER. And would you relate your educational background?

Mr. WILDMAN. Grade school; 3½ years of high school.

Mr. WHEELER. And where did you attend high school?

Mr. WILDMAN. Billings, Mont., and Spokane, Wash.

Mr. WHEELER. What is your occupation?

Mr. WILDMAN. I am a switchman.

Mr. WHEELER. And would you give us a brief résumé of your employment background?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I worked for the—when I was a youngster, out of high school—National Youth Administration part time for a period of time, a year or so, I think. Then I worked one summer on a ranch. Then I went to work as a warehouseman and I worked as a

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee.

warehouseman for a number of years before the war for various concerns in Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, where did you live, say, from 1933 until you moved to California?

Mr. WILDMAN. I lived in Spokane. For a short time I lived in Tacoma.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, will you give us the dates as near as you can recall?

Mr. WILDMAN. I lived in Spokane until the early summer of 1938. I lived in Tacoma for about 3 months. And then after that I lived in Seattle. Oh yes, there was a time when I was back in New York, prior to going to Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you join the Young Communist League?

Mr. WILDMAN. To the best of my recollection it was in the early part of 1933.

Mr. WHEELER. And in what city?

Mr. WILDMAN. Spokane, Wash.

Mr. WHEELER. What was your age at that time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Sixteen.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you a student in high school?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you a member of the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think I was a member until—I am not quite sure of the year—1941, or—about 1941, I think it was.

Mr. WHEELER. During the period of time you were a member of the YCL, were you also a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Part of the time.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you first become affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. When I was 19.

Mr. WHEELER. Approximately 1936?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. In 1944.

Mr. WHEELER. In what city?

Mr. WILDMAN. Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. Since that time have you had any affiliation with the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Getting back to Spokane in the year 1933, would you advise the committee under what circumstances you joined the Young Communist League? We would like the background of the events that led you into the movement.

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I was—my family at that time, they were left-wing; I mean, they had been liberal minded, and things were kind of tough in those days and I think at that time we were on relief. And the family heard about—I think it was unemployment councils at that time, and it wasn't too long before myself and my brothers were in; that is, either in the Communist Party or the Young Communist League.



Mr. WHEELER. Well now, was there an active movement in the high school of Young Communist League members, or were you an exception?

Mr. WILDMAN. No; there were a few. There was a very, very—it was a very, very small group from the Young Communist League, and almost all of them were high school kids.

Mr. WHEELER. What were the main activities of the Young Communist League from 1933 until 1936, when you actually joined the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, a lot of study groups. There was social activities. There was distribution of leaflets. And there was—well, things of that order. It was a young group, as I said, mostly 16- or 17-year-old kids. And we sponsored a few dances and a few fairs; and we had our study groups and our meetings. And that was—well, I don't think there was too much else doing in this group.

Mr. WHEELER. What were the objectives of the Young Communist League during this period of time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, looking back, why, I think their objectives were to teach young people to become Marxists, to become Communists, to some day become members of the Communist Party and to accept the teachings of the—well, of Marx and of Lenin, and so on, and have their own national leaders of the Communist movement.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, what is the relationship between the Young Communist League and the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, they accepted the guidance and the directions of the Communist Party, and they cooperated on the main campaigns at the time. If you asked me the campaigns, why—it's a long time ago. Mainly relief and jobs of that kind.

And in Spokane at that time there was quite a strong movement of the unemployed. The strongest portion of it was under the leadership of the Socialist Party, and that was a very large organization; and I think the Unemployed Councils, they also had quite a large membership. I remember some of the things that were done, such things as cutting off the lights of the unemployed, and then turning them back on. I think there was a period of several months when both unemployed groups cooperated and picketed the Washington Water & Power Co. for a period of, I think, it was several months, and night and day; and I remember that that year they sponsored a joint May Day rally, and there were quite a few fellows in the May Day parade. It had a lot of support. And if I remember rightly, why, quite a few of the AFL unions, and so on, joined in; as well as the unemployed and the Socialist Party and the Unemployed Councils and so on.

There were some court cases in connection with the prosecution of people caught turning on lights again. There were, oh, things of that kind going on during that period. And, well, for myself, I was a youngster with a lot of excitement and I felt that the thing was just—I mean, people shouldn't be out of lights because they didn't have the money. Well, it was a bad situation. You know. You went through it yourself. You know the circumstances in a lot of communities at that time.

Mr. WHEELER. The poor economic difficulties of the country were responsible for your joining to a high degree?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think the justice of the thing. I mean, I felt, well, personally I always have felt "Do unto your neighbor like you would have him do unto you"—I mean, be a good neighbor, that that is a pretty good yardstick of behavior. Of course, I didn't think I was misdirected or was off on a tangent. I know it was now. But in a lot of cases well, there was a lot of human suffering and misery and, well, trying to do something about it, it all appealed to me.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the leaders of the Young Communist League were?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, looking back, I forget a lot of the names. I know that the FBI and the Immigration Department submitted a lot of names to me. Some of them I recognized after I saw them in front of me. But a lot of them, looking back I can only remember the first names, and the last names in a few cases. I am not completely definite in my mind if they are exactly right. It seems to me, a kid by the name of Sedlock.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you spell it? We are interested more in the leaders rather than the high school students.

Mr. WILDMAN. He was very active. He wasn't a student. He was a kid who had been on the bum, been riding the rods, and if I remember rightly, why, he slept at the Hall, at the Unemployed Council's headquarters and he was quite active. Either Sedlock or Sedgelock; I am not quite sure. I just have an impression in my mind, either S-e-d-g-e-l-o-c-k, or might be S-e-d-l-o-c-k. I am not quite sure.

There was a girl by the name of Winnie. She was the financial secretary. I am not sure of her last name. The fact is I don't remember it. And she has married since then, I am quite sure.

There was a girl by the name of Salina. I don't remember her last name. And there was a couple of brothers that were fairly active in it; one was John, and I think Rodney was his last name. I am not quite sure of that, though.

Then there was my brother. He was in it for a little while; my brother Harlow Wildman.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he older than you?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes, 3 years. Then there's quite a few kids that—there was an Italian kid by the name of Frank. I don't remember his last name. He is dead now, though. He got killed in a dynamite blast.

There was a Douglas Haggin later on. He was very young. He wasn't even 16, though. You might check the spelling.

Oh, there was some other kids, but it is a long, long time ago.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, in 1936 you became a member of the Communist Party, is that right?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you explain the transition from the YCL to the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I don't know exactly who it was—was probably, if I remember rightly, and I am not sure about this now, I think it was probably the Northwest organizer for the Communist League that asked me to join, and I think at that time it was Max Olson. I don't think that was his right name, but that is the name he went by.

Mr. WHEELER. After joining the Communist Party were you assigned to any particular unit or branch of the club?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, mainly my job was, I attended a few meetings at that time, but mainly my job, what I did was, I became organizer of the Young Communist League in Spokane.

Mr. WHEELER. How long were you organizer for the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, up until the time I left there in the middle of 1938.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you consider the movement a success?

Mr. WILDMAN. Not very. It was—I think our top membership probably was, oh, about 35, counting everybody.

Mr. WHEELER. Were these mostly students in high school?

Mr. WILDMAN. Mostly young kids of my age or younger.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, what appealed to these young people? What was your approach to get them to join the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. Most of them were members of families whose parents were on Unemployed Councils or in some cases whose parents were members of the Communist Party; and so in the main it was parental blessing and appeal. I think a lot of them—of course, I don't know any of them now that are still in, that I know of—I think it was a good time, I mean dances, and there was a couple of years when we had a summer camp out on one of the lakes there, and we had weekend parties at the lakes and things of that kind. And we had a hall that we used. I remember that we took and sanded the thing and waxed it. We used to go to the dances, sponsored by various organizations around the movement; and then we would have our meetings and study groups and, well, I think the fact—I don't know of any of them now that are in. It never made a very lasting impression on any of them; I mean, the ideology didn't really capture their minds. There might be some that are still influenced, I don't know. It has been a long time since I have been back, and there's been a lot of water under the bridge. But as far as I know, I just have the impression in my mind that none of them are in the Communist movement now, and I think that they straightened out and got a better viewpoint on life, and, well, that's—you gather my mentioning that—well, I am just trying to put it across what I mean, that as far as the objectives of the Communists were concerned, they weren't very successful in the long run.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the leaders of the Communist Party during that period of time, 1936 to 1938?

Mr. WILDMAN. I have been thinking for a long time. There was a fellow, the first one that I knew of, I think it was the first, was a fellow by the name of Ed Leavitt, L-e-a-v-i-t-t. Now, somewhere in the back of my mind—this is a footnote on him—I think he was expelled later on. I am not sure.

Mr. WHEELER. What was his position?

Mr. WILDMAN. He was section organizer.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall anyone else in an official position?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, there was a young fellow by the name of Bud Cook. He was from an old-time Spokane family, I understood, and I think later on he was also expelled, later on for a short while.

There was a fellow by the name of Van Orman who was the leader of the Communist Party in Spokane, but I think later on he also was expelled.

Mr. WHEELER. J. H. Van Orman?



Mr. WILDMAN. I think that is his name, yes. I am not sure, but I have heard that he moved out to the west coast somewhere from Spokane in the early 1940's.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall Bud Cook's position?

Mr. WILDMAN. I don't. He was active. He was their sponsored candidate for mayor at one time, and so on.

Then, later on, I think it was about 1936 or 1937, they started to recruit people that were, well, were unemployed, that had, some of them I guess had semiprofessional backgrounds, and so on. There was Barbara Hartle and her husband John Hartle; James Haggin, who now works for Dave Beck in the Teamsters Union, I think, in Seattle. I think Beck knows of his record.

Mr. WHEELER. For the record he is international representative of the teamsters at Portland.

Mr. WILDMAN. There was a whole number of them that came in during that time. The Communist Party in Spokane never did become too large; I guess maybe 80 to 100 members.

Mr. DOYLE. How old a man was this man Hagen, that is now with the teamsters, at the time you knew him?

Mr. WILDMAN. He must have been in his early thirty's.

Mr. DOYLE. At that time?

Mr. WILDMAN. He impressed me as being old. At 16 years old, why, anyone over 25 or 30 is much older. But looking back, why, I think that he was quite a bit—well, must have been about 30, 35, somewhere in there. He couldn't have been much older. That is just a guess. He had, I think—well, he had three adopted children by his wife. She had 3 children when they married, and they had 1. The son was 2 or 3 years old.

Mr. WHEELER. In our investigation in the Northwest, Mr. Doyle, it was determined that the following people were members of the Communist Party in Spokane.

(Addressing witness). Now, I would like to ask you if you have knowledge of these people: Stan Ivers, I-v-e-r-s?

Mr. WILDMAN. No, that doesn't strike a responsive chord.

Mr. WHEELER. Roy Lampitt, L-a-m-p-i-t-t?

Mr. WILDMAN. No, not a Lampitt.

Mr. WHEELER. John Clark?

Mr. WILDMAN. That strikes a responsive chord. I dimly remember a name like that—Clark.

Mr. WHEELER. Herman Schultz?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Mabel Wheeler?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you further describe Maybelle Wheeler?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I think her husband and she were active either in the Workers' Alliance or Unemployed Councils for a time; but I think that there was—after a time, why, they got disgusted and had a falling out with the leadership and they quit. That's their daughter, incidentally, I think, it was her daughter, she was a member of the Young Communist League for a while, but she was interested in a good time, and that was about it.



Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned John Clark and you said you dimly remember. Dimly remember what? Was he a member of the Communist Party or the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. No, I don't know. I place the name. I don't visualize any connection with the face, but the name is familiar; and, well, I couldn't swear to it but the impression I have in association with the name was that he was a member.

Mr. DOYLE. Of what?

Mr. WILDMAN. The Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. At the time you were?

Mr. WILDMAN. At the time I was.

Mr. WHEELER. Grace Dahlke, D-a-h-l-k-e?

Mr. WILDMAN. I associate her—I think that she was a widow, I am not sure—but I think that she was active in the unemployed movement. There has been so darn much water under the bridge, you know, but I would say, at the very least, she was sympathetic, if not actually a member. That's been, you know, it's about 17, 18, 19 years ago.

Mr. WHEELER. Harold Eddings?

Mr. WILDMAN. No. I knew another Eddings. Is it O. K.—

Mr. WHEELER. If you know him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WILDMAN. Ralph Eddings, but it wasn't in Spokane.

Mr. WHEELER. Where was he?

Mr. WILDMAN. Tacoma.

Mr. WHEELER. Earl Carpenter?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. How do you associate him with the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, he was a commercial artist. I think he worked for several stores there in Spokane as a decorator, you know, as a store decorator, and so on. And I think that he used to do a lot of art work and poster work and so on for the unemployed movement, and also, I guess, for the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Emma Carpenter?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes, his wife. She wasn't ever very active—her health. I think she had a bad heart.

Mr. WHEELER. Vernon Riley?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Lawrence Breman, B-r-e-m-a-n?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Jan Meyer?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Carolyn Haggin?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. I already mentioned her name.

Mr. WHEELER. Art Furnish, F-u-r-n-i-s-h?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes, I have been trying to remember his name all week. He was at one time, I think, either the chairman—I think he was chairman of the Unemployed Council or Workers' Alliance in Spokane.

Mr. DOYLE. And a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Never a very active member. I mean, he was a—well, I think he was interested in bread and butter, and I don't think

the Communist ideology made a very deep impression on him.

Mr. DOYLE. I notice you seem to associate several of these people with the Unemployed Council and with the Communist Party.

Mr. WILDMAN. Actually, most of them were unemployed at that time.

Mr. DOYLE. Was the Communist Party membership in control of the Unemployed Council?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think a lot of them were leaders of the Unemployed Council. I think they pretty well determined and directed the policy.

Mr. WHEELER. Harry Crumbaker?

Mr. WILDMAN. That strikes—I think I remember him as a—yes, I do, I remember him as a member of the Communist Party. And his sister—I forget her first name—was a member of the Young Communist League for a while.

Mr. WHEELER. Red Perry?

Mr. WILDMAN. Red Perry? Yes; also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall his occupation?

Mr. WILDMAN. Gosh, I don't. Red Perry; a lumber worker—I don't know. I think at the time I knew him he was, I don't know whether he went out and worked in the woods when he could get a job, or what. But I have the impression that he was a single man, middle-aged man, red hair, ruddy complexion, fairly heavysset.

Mr. WHEELER. Al Jones?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Joe Simmons?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. C. P. Johnson?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you further identify Mr. Johnson?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I think he was a lumberjack most of the time; worked in the woods, or as a construction worker. He was quite a tall man; I suppose pretty close to 200 pounds. I think that he was probably at that time middle aged already. I would say that I think his hair was turning definitely gray.

Mr. WHEELER. Joe Burner?

Mr. WILDMAN. Joe Burner? That was the Bernard or something I think I mentioned earlier. I have been trying to think of that name because I turned it over to the FBI. I thought it was Bernard, but it is Burner. I wasn't certain of it. But Joe Burner, I think—gosh, I was thinking it was George Burner.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Joe Winburn?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. He was a member for quite a while, but he was kicked out. He was a man, oh, in his fifties at that time. As I learned later, just a rumor on my part, he had been a rumrunner from Canada, deputy sheriff from Montana—had quite a colorful career; quite a hardboiled customer.

Mr. WHEELER. Elizabeth Schneider?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. An elderly spinster, I think, that owned some property in Spokane. I think she owned a small apartment house.

I don't know. Looking back, I think she was a member. She wasn't active, but she was sympathetic, I know.

Mr. WHEELER. Ed Lehman?

Mr. WILDMAN. There was a Lehman. I don't know his first name. He was a member of the Communist Party in Spokane. But he signed up to go overseas and fight against Franco, but he changed his mind and he wrote a series of articles for the Hearst newspapers, I think, in Boston.

Mr. WHEELER. Ruth Van Orman?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. She's the wife of J. H. Van Orman.

Mr. WHEELER. Ernest Wallace?

Mr. WILDMAN. Wallace? I am not certain about that. No, I couldn't be definite about it.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Doyle, this concludes my interrogation regarding the Spokane area. Do you have any questions you might ask?

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned three men who had been expelled, you thought. Do you recall the names of those three men?

Mr. WILDMAN. Haggin.

Mr. DOYLE. Why was he expelled?

Mr. WILDMAN. I don't know too much of the background of it. I think—

Mr. DOYLE. Was that during your time of membership?

Mr. WILDMAN. I wasn't in Spokane at the time. I think it was from accounts that I have seen since, and from some of the material that they asked me to check over, the Immigration Department or FBI. I think it was in 1939, or somewhere around in there.

Mr. DOYLE. Did the older Communist Party send in older people in those meetings in any way to teach and instruct?

Mr. WILDMAN. Generally not. On weekend parties or something like that someone would go along to chaperon or something like that; or perhaps an older one would come in to speak on some subject. But, generally, my impression was that it was a gathering of young people.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you transferred to Tacoma?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think it was the Young Communist League with, I think, the O. K. of the Communists.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you move to Tacoma because you desired to or were requested by the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I desired to, and I was requested to.

Mr. DOYLE. By the party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. You stated you lived in Tacoma approximately 3 months during 1938.

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, did you hold any official position with the Communist Party during this 3-month period in Tacoma?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think I was a member of the county executive board; and I was an organizer—the organizer for the Young Communist League there.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall the other members of the county executive board in Tacoma during that time?

Mr. WILDMAN. I can remember some of them. There was a fellow by the name of Ellison.



Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall his first name?

Mr. WILDMAN. No, let's see. I don't.

Mr. WHEELER. Does Victor Ellison—

Mr. WILDMAN. That's it, Vic Ellison, as he was called.

There was Ralph Eddings. I think it is E-d-d-i-n-g-s. And a fellow by the name of Green.

Mr. WHEELER. John Greenman?

Mr. WILDMAN. John Greenman? That sounds like it. Yes, I am pretty sure of it.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you sure enough to, under oath, identify him positively?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, if I could see the man, yes, I could either say "Yes" or "No" under oath. I think he was—he was called Johnnie, and I am quite positive his last name was Greenman.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall anyone else on the county executive board?

Mr. WILDMAN. Oh, let's see. I think Naomi Ellison, Victor Ellison's wife, was. And I have got pictures in my mind of some others but I forget their names.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, who else did you meet in Tacoma as a Communist other than the people you have previously identified as members of the county executive board?

Mr. WILDMAN. My brother Harlow was there at that time. Then there was, I think, a Jack Mansfield going to college there. He organized the college branch of the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHEELER. What college was that, Mr. Wildman?

Mr. WILDMAN. Oh, it's a small college there.

Mr. DOYLE. In Tacoma?

Mr. WILDMAN. Jack Mansfield, incidentally, the last I heard they committed him to an asylum or sanitarium. He went off his rocker. He was quite brilliant. I think that he almost got a Rhodes scholarship, but I think it was his personality features that entered into it. There was another young fellow there that was recruited and did get a scholarship at some university in Europe. I have a recollection. I don't remember his name. I don't think he stayed in long afterward because I never heard of him. It was a 3-year scholarship at the University of Budapest or some such place.

Mr. WHEELER. You don't recall the organization that sponsored him?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, from that small college, if I remember rightly, there was a young fellow who got a Rhodes scholarship, and then a scholarship, I am pretty sure, for the University of Budapest, 3-year scholarship. I was only there for a short time and I only met a few.

Mr. WHEELER. Did the fact that these students were Communists have any bearing on the fact that they received these scholarships?

Mr. WILDMAN. Definitely not. At that time Budapest—this is pre-war, and I don't think that—I don't think that the branch of the Young Communist League there was organized, started to organize when I was there, when I first came, and they were highly successful.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that Puget Sound College?

Mr. WILDMAN. That's it, the College of Puget Sound.

Mr. DOYLE. There was such at Tacoma, I remember hearing years ago.



Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I think that this group that they had there, they managed to recruit most of the leaders of the campus into the Young Communist League.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Mr. WILDMAN. 1938.

Mr. WHEELER. Anyone else you now can recall as being a member of the Communist Party in Tacoma?

Mr. WILDMAN. Naomi Ellison's sister. But she is married, and I don't know her name. We developed, in a very short time there, quite a good membership in the college branch, if I remember right, 20 to 30 members; and most of them were, well, you know, so-called big shots on the campus.

Mr. WHEELER. How about the faculty?

Mr. WILDMAN. No, none that I know of. I am pretty sure that none of the faculty were in.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you yourself participate in any of the recruiting of any of these people?

Mr. WILDMAN. Not of the college kids. Oh, I met with a few of them from time to time, but they were pretty well apart.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was the recruiter?

Mr. WILDMAN. Jack Mansfield.

Mr. DOYLE. Jack Mansfield?

Mr. WILDMAN. There was a lot of those kids, I would run across them on the street and I would walk up and say, "Hello."

Mr. DOYLE. Did you say where this Jack Mansfield was now?

Mr. WILDMAN. The last I heard, in 1942 or 1944, he went off his rocker and was committed to a State institution, State hospital.

Mr. DOYLE. Up north there?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think, oh, to one of the asylums there, State asylums.

Mr. WHEELER. Is there any further information concerning Tacoma that you could give?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, there is a lot of—I don't have those lists of names that were shown to me. I identified quite a few from that. But, well, they slipped my mind again.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you know Milford Sutherland?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Robert Decker?

Mr. WILDMAN. The name is very, very familiar, but I am not sure about it.

Mr. WHEELER. John Collins?

Mr. WILDMAN. John Collins? No.

Mr. WHEELER. Clara Saari, S-a-a-r-i?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, I understand from your testimony that after this 3-month period in Tacoma that you moved to Seattle.

Mr. WILDMAN. I went back to the National Training School.

Mr. DOYLE. What National Training School?

Mr. WILDMAN. Conducted by the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Where?

Mr. WILDMAN. At Lake Unity, N. Y.

Mr. WHEELER. That is up on the Hudson?

Mr. WILDMAN. It is up in the Catskills—or is it? Right near Vermont, up near Vermont there, the place where they make hats.

Mr. WHEELER. Who selected you to attend the National Training School?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think I was selected on the basis of—had to be approved, I think, by the—if I remember rightly, on the basis of each district or each area were eligible to send so many people, and I was one that was recommended.

Mr. WHEELER. Were there other students selected for this school other than yourself?

Mr. WILDMAN. Not from Washington.

Mr. WHEELER. Not from the Washington area?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you go into detail, describe in detail what transpired at the National Training School, the courses you took, who you met there, your faculty, length of time you were there, and give us everything that you have knowledge of?

Mr. WILDMAN. There must have been about 30 or 40 students from all over the country. It was, I think, about a 5-month full-time school. We were there at Camp Unity in a hotel, ate in the cafeteria. And, oh, they taught trade-union history, political economy. They spent some time on American history. They spent about a month, I think, on the principles of Marxism and Leninism. The structure of American political parties. And I think that more or less—there might have been a few other things they delved into, but those were the main subjects that they covered.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall who the teachers were?

Mr. WILDMAN. Oh, there was a fellow, the head of the school, who was named George—I saw his name in some of the papers a few years ago, George something or other, oldtime Communist from New York; been an old Socialist before the Communist Party. I have seen his name in the papers and I recognized it at the time. He was a member of the National Educational Commission, or something, at that time. I think that he was probably pretty well known as an open Communist, along history. I think he went through the Lawrence textile strike—when was it—the old Trade Union Unity League at that time and one of the leaders of it. He was a small man. Gosh, he must be really along in years now. He was very, very gray, and I suppose he was pretty close to 60 then.

Mr. DOYLE. You said they put in about a month in studying Leninism and Marxism?

Mr. WILDMAN. As a subject.

Mr. DOYLE. You were there about 5 months?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes, sir. Well, all this was twisted, from the Communist standpoint.

Mr. DOYLE. Did that include, or did any subject include a study of the Soviet Union, a history of Russia?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, definitely yes; the history of the Communist Party. The Soviet Union was a part of that. I think, also, I can amend my statement that they devoted quite a little time, I think 2 weeks or so, if I remember, to the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was at that time they were putting out a book on the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall any other of the instructors?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, from time to time there was Alexander Bittelman; there was Earl Browder. There were various other mem-

bers of the national committee in the Communist Party. I think Bill Foster even taught a few classes; and Robert Minor and Gil Green. I think from time to time, why, most of the leadership of the Communist Party in the New York area conducted a class or so.

Mr. WHEELER. Can you identify any of the students attending this training school?

Mr. WILDMAN. There was a Martha Stone. I think she was from New Jersey. There was—I think most of them were going under assumed names. There was a Lou Rosser from this area, Los Angeles.

Mr. WHEELER. For the record, Mr. Rosser has appeared before the committee and has related his experiences for the Communist Party.

Mr. WILDMAN. There was a colored nurse from Harlem. She was active in the nurses' union. I don't remember her name. There were several from Chicago. Most of them were young people at this school, and, oh, I don't remember their names.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, after you left the school were you assigned by the Communist Party to go to Seattle?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And you moved, you and your family, to Seattle?

Mr. WILDMAN. I didn't have a family; just myself.

Mr. WHEELER. It was under the direction of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: Do you say that you were one of not more than 40 young persons from all over the United States selected by the Communist Party leadership to go to this school with all your expenses paid?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Including transportation?

Mr. WILDMAN. Including transportation.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, you arrived in Seattle in the latter part of 1938 or the early part of 1939?

Mr. WILDMAN. The middle part of 1939. I stayed over for the world's fair. I think it was in June of 1939 that I arrived in Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. And you left the Communist Party in 1944?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. During 1939 to 1944 what position did you hold?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, for the—I think 1939, 1940, and part of 1941, if I remember rightly, I was active in the Young Communist League as a member of the Northwest executive committee.

Mr. WHEELER. Is that from 1939 to 1941?

Mr. WILDMAN. 1939 to 1941. I was chairman of at least one branch of the Young Communist League. I think it was the downtown branch. And after 1941 I was active in the Communist Party. I was no longer in the Young Communist League. There was a small group of warehousemen who had a branch, belonged to the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, Local No. 9, I think it is. That includes the warehouse local in Seattle.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you say you held a position with the warehousemen's branch?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. I was the organizer of it; for a while, chairman.

Mr. WHEELER. Was that the only branch you belonged to from 1941 to 1944?

Mr. WILDMAN. No. I forget exactly the year; but they had a change of policy, getting away from the occupational branches or the industrial branches and forming community branches; and in, oh, about the latter part of 1942, I think it was, or the early part of 1943, I was branch chairman of the—I think it is the 33d Legislative District—33d or 37th. But I think it is the 33d.

Mr. WHEELER. From 1941 to 1944, did you hold any position in the county?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes; member of the county committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. And the Communist Political Association. I am not sure of my dates on when they had the Communist Political Association and when they had the Communist Party. I don't remember. I was a member of the State committee, Washington State Committee. And I think for one term I was vice president of the King County organization.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, before we go further in this Seattle thing, 1939, Stalin and Hitler entered the nonaggression pact. What was your reaction to this pact?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, at the time, why, I was pretty well imbued with that doctrine, and I swallowed it. I thought it sounded logical. It raised a lot of questions in my mind at the time, but—well, I tell you this: Looking back on it my mind was pretty well closed to anything except, thinking from the time I was, well, 16, practically, I was quite a convert and quite enthusiastic about the thing, because, well, I saw a lot of things going on around me at that time, during that time, and the Communists were making great strides in that area, had their fingers in a lot of pies, and they were—well, up until the time of the Finnish war between Russia, and the period when Hitler had the nonaggression pact, I think that in the main they were going—well, were working with the people that were heading in the main stream of political action, and so on. I mean, they worked with a lot of Democrats. They had their influence in a lot of unions; they had their influence in this Washington Commonwealth Federation; and directly or indirectly, why, at election time they controlled a lot of votes and, well, I know that at the time I felt in the swim of the things, more or less, because I had met a lot of people, nationally known people, or quite prominent. I knew who was who in politics. I knew a lot of them well enough to speak to them and to be spoken to by name in return.

Well, very definitely I felt I had a place in the sun, so to speak, on this thing.

Mr. DOYLE. How about your financial compensation from the Communist Party? Was that comparable to other salaries and pay? Was it commensurate—were you donating your time? Because you said, "I was quite enthusiastic." Were you donating some of your time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Donating most of it. I had a regular job most of the time.

Mr. DOYLE. I mean during the daylight hours you were working at a trade or occupation?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. What trade or occupation?

Mr. WILDMAN. Warehouseman.



Mr. DOYLE. And I assume that on all your evenings and all your Sundays and time off was donated to the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Most of them. I was quite active in the 1940 Russian campaign. I think that was the first year—1940—that I distributed—I don't think in that year they had their own candidate. They supported, in the main, the Democratic candidates, and I distributed an awful lot of literature for the Democratic campaigns in that time; in 1940 some and in 1942 more. And in 1944, the early part of the campaign in King County, I handled, from the Democratic Party Headquarters, I handled practically all the literature going to the precinct committee, and from the various candidates, campaign offices, to the precinct committee. There was a time in the early part of 1944 that I donated my time, except expenses, to registration of voters during the campaign, and things of that kind.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you explain your activities and official position with the YCL in Seattle from 1939 to 1941?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I don't know how many members they had there then. They had a small South Seattle branch, Madison Street branch, and a branch at the university, in the university district, Green Lake branch; and, I think, the Downtown branch; and the Ballard branch.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, now, who were the other leading people in the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. There was Jim West. He was the Northwest chairman, I think, at that time. I don't know whether he was a member of the national committee or not. I don't believe so.

There was a young fellow by the name of Harvey—not Jackson.

Mr. WHEELER. J-a-c-k-i-n-s?

Mr. WILDMAN. Jackins, I think it was; J-a-u-l-k-i-n-s, or something like that.

Mr. WHEELER. J-a-c-k-i-n-s is the correct spelling.

Mr. WILDMAN. And there was Marg Baxter. She was in my own branch of the Young Communist League.

There was a young fellow by the name of—he was fairly active—Vince Spillman, I think it was. There was Mary—a French girl, French nurse, Mary Guilmet. And there's a lot of other names I would recognize—I can picture the people but I can't pin the name on them.

Mr. WHEELER. What strength did the YCL have at the University of Washington?

Mr. DOYLE. This was between 1939 and 1941.

Mr. WILDMAN. Probably around 15 or 20 members.

Mr. DOYLE. Upper classmen or lower classmen?

Mr. WILDMAN. All kinds; freshmen, just kids going to the university.

Mr. WHEELER. Who was the organizer for the university branch? Do you recall?

Mr. WILDMAN. Harvey Jackins was. And then there was some girl, oh, later on. I can't remember her name.

Mr. WHEELER. How about the faculty at the University of Washington during that period of time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I heard——

Mr. WHEELER. We would like to have it not secondhand. I mean——

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, there was one that I know, that I have been told anyway, that was a member, and that was a fellow——

Mr. DOYLE. Now wait just a minute. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DOYLE. On the record. Continue.

Mr. WILDMAN. Most of my work was—well, I was working on the job; warehouseman. I was active in my union. And then I had this one, I was the chairman of this downtown branch of the Young Communist League.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the members of the downtown branch?

Mr. WILDMAN. This Marg Baxter was one. And I couldn't remember any other names now. I remember the people, some of them—a few. I would recognize their names if I saw them. I would recognize their photograph if I saw them.

Mr. WHEELER. You were a member of the county committee at this time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Not of the county committee of the Communist Party; no. I don't think so, anyway.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, you were a member of the Northwest executive committee of the party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Of the Young Communist League; yes.

Mr. WHEELER. I see. Who were the other members of the Northwest executive committee of the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. Jim West, Jean West, Harvey Jackins. I think Mary Guilmet for a while. I think Mary Guilmet got married and started having a family and dropped out of the activity. There were, oh, 2 or 3 from Oregon. All three of them from Oregon were college students, and Keith was his first name, one of them, but he was only there for a while. And the girl he married, Ellen, I think her name was; and then there was one more. But gosh, I don't——

Mr. WHEELER. They were students at what college?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think at Reed. And if not all of them at Reed, I have the impression that one of them went to the University of Oregon at Eugene.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, in 1941 you left as organizer for the YCL?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Was that at the request of the Communist Party, or did you so desire?

Mr. WILDMAN. I desired.

Mr. WHEELER. You desired to get off of it?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. And then you became a member of the warehousemen's branch of local 9?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think it is local 9; anyhow, the warehousemen's branch of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. WHEELER. For how long were you a member of this branch?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, until it was broken up and they established the neighborhood branches.

Mr. WHEELER. Could you give us an estimate of the period of time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I think about that time, probably a little less than a year.

Mr. WHEELER. Now, who were the other members of the warehousemen's branch?

Mr. WILDMAN. A fellow by the name of Johnnie Stevens and a fellow by the name of Lawrence. And there was Johnnie Stevens' wife. Incidentally, she quit soon afterward, about 1940. When she split up with her husband she dropped out completely.

There was a fellow by the name of Happy.

Mr. WHEELER. How do you spell that?

Mr. WILDMAN. Everyone called him Happy, H-a-p-p-y.

There was a fellow by the name of Al. He'd been very active, oh, about in 1939 in the Communist Party there. But I don't remember his last name. He had been a full-timer. There were about 2 or 3 more.

Mr. WHEELER. How many were in this union?

Mr. WILDMAN. It was a small one. I suppose the top membership there was, oh, from 8 to 10.

Mr. WHEELER. Was it the membership of the industrial section or the waterfront section?

Mr. WILDMAN. I don't think they had a waterfront section when I was there; just the members of the county organization, King County organization.

Mr. WHEELER. Well now, as organizer of this branch, did you have occasion to meet with organizers of other branches in the waterfront, such as the longshoremen's branch?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, they had some members in the longshoremen, not too many, because most of the leadership there in the longshoremen, were, they went along with Bridges and his program. Most of them were not sympathetic to the Communists.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall any of the longshoremen who were?

Mr. WILDMAN. There was Burt Nelson. There was a fellow by the name of Hicks, I think. There weren't too many of them. They had some that supported them, but they weren't members. They had the Richardson brothers, Tom Richardson and—but they weren't members at that time that I know of.

Mr. DOYLE. Can you explain your answer a little bit ago when you said, "Well, they went along with Bridges and his program and most of them were not sympathetic to the Communists"? What did you mean by that?

Mr. WILDMAN. Most of the officers and members of the executive board of the longshoremen in Seattle were, most of them, good Democrats or good Republicans, and you had men, like Brown, good trade-unionists but weren't Communists by any stretch of the imagination, or weren't sympathetic. I know I went to one convention in San Francisco of the longshoremen, and I think Burt Nelson and I were the only Communists in the whole delegation. There were 8 or 10 from the longshoremen.

Mr. DOYLE. What did you mean when you said they went along with Bridges?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, they supported his policies, union policies. I don't think they agreed with him politically, though. And some of them opposed him down the line. I know that during that convention—it's a long time ago, but I seem to recall that there was some disagreement on the floor against some of the policies that Harry Bridges had recommended, and some of the boys there from Seattle spoke up against the position of Bridges on it. The actual membership of the Communists in those two unions, their two locals, there



weren't very many, not too many. I know that the list the FBI asked me to comment on, the overall majority of the list were not members, and never had been, as far as I knew, members, unless they were members after 1944. There are some that were. But again, why, Bridges' support in that union was never based on the actual membership of the Communists in that union; not in Seattle, anyway.

Well, he had a way of putting it over.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the members of the King County committee of which you were a member?

Mr. WILDMAN. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes. And the Communist Political Association.

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, for a while there was a fellow by the name of Andy Remes, I think it is. There was Barbara Hartle. And there was Johnny Daschbach. There was, not exactly the King County committee, Henry Huff. There was Jessie—I forget her last name. There was John—well, I forget his last name; John and Elsie Hall, I think it is. There was Burt Nelson. Gosh, at one time it was quite a large committee and I know I would recognize the names, but I just can't recall them now. Those were the leading ones.

Mr. WHEELER. Who were the members of the State committee, to your recollection?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, most of them were the county chairmen, and the addition of Henry Huff. He was the State chairman in Washington. There was Ralph Hall. I think. There was Barbara Hartle, Andy Remes, Victor Ellison, and an Irishman from Portland. Murphy was his name; Jim Murphy, I think it is. I am not quite sure of the Jim. Then I think Van Orman was—not during that time; no. That was before. And then there was my wife at that time, Muriel Wildman. Oh, there were some more. There was one from Bellingham—Harold. I forget his last name now. His first name is Harold.

Mr. WHEELER. Well, I understand your position with the Communist Party in Seattle was branch chairman of the 33d Legislative District.

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Would you go into detail and give the committee the information on the 33d Legislative District?

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Mr. WHEELER. 1944.

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, it was a rather large branch. I suppose the top membership would have been between 75 and 100; maybe more. I am not quite sure of those figures, but it was quite a large branch.

There was Eugene Dennett and his wife Harriet.

Mr. WHEELER. Did Eugene Dennett hold an official position?

Mr. WILDMAN. At one time he was educational director for a short time. But he went into the service early in—I forget exactly when he did go in. Maybe I am getting my figures mixed up here because most of the impression I have in my mind is that he was in the service during this period, but that his wife was financial secretary and dues secretary for the branch.

And then there was Betty Smith. She was a member of the branch executive committee. And then there was her husband Claude Smith. There were some colored fellows. They were members, active members for a while.



Gosh, I don't know. There was Andy. That was the first name of one of them. Well, there was an awfully large membership. But that's—my stumbling block is that I can picture the people and I would recognize their picture immediately, but I don't remember their names.

Mr. WHEELER. As the investigation progresses in the Northwest I think we will be able to help you on this. You will cooperate at any further time?

Mr. WILDMAN. Definitely. There are a lot of these people, you know, that, well, you can recall their faces and what they look like but you can't—anyway, after 10 or 12 years I can't associate the name with them.

Mr. WHEELER. For what reasons did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, there was a whole number of things. One thing was that I was physically getting awfully tired of all this constant activity, and so on, all of this constant strain.

Also there was, well, during 1944, and during the time I was in the Army, I got a glimpse and I began to think about a different life for myself, and all this constant thing; well, all this constant strain and stress and so on.

Well, I began to realize what I was denying myself with all this activity that I was carrying on.

Mr. WHEELER. What were you denying yourself?

Mr. WILDMAN. Denying myself the right to a family, a decent home. In the jobs I worked in I made pretty good money, but I poured it down the drain, so to speak. I hadn't, outside of some war bonds, why, I hadn't saved anything.

Mr. DOYLE. What did you do with your money?

Mr. DOYLE. I donated it.

Mr. DOYLE. Who to?

Mr. WILDMAN. To the Communist Party. I was always reaching in my pocket and I was always taking time off from my work to do this and that. And well, I was beginning to get a little bit sick and tired of it. And, well, being away from them for a while like I was I began to see what was right under my nose all the time, that all this malarkey that they preached, and I fell for, about following the Russian example and you would have a better America was, well, right now I'd go out and earn a living and enjoy it, and that is what they preached, and I began to add that up; and looking back, I personally have always been a staunch union man. I believed in them. I have believed in them since I was that high. [Indicating.] My dad was a contractor at one time. His background wasn't such that it would make him a good union man, been a farmer and contractor, and so on, and he believed in unions and I was brought up to believe in them, too.

And it began to register in me that all this unnecessary strife that I was going through all the time in the union wasn't doing me any good, wasn't doing the workingman any good; and this blind alley, the Communist America—well, I began to add up a few of the things and I began to realize, finally, too late probably in a lot of cases, the fact that right here in America there was an opportunity for a full, rich life without this thing. I mean, a man can go out and make a decent living. He can work in a decent job. And well, I felt like Don Quixote

must have felt if he ever stopped to meditate on it. I was chasing windmills all this time. And it's proved out with me since I have quit.

I have had my problems, but, well, I told Mr. Wheeler here there were a thousand little things. I actually hadn't given too much thought to the whole basic philosophy behind it. I know that morally and physically and mentally I felt relieved that I was finished, and I felt happy that I was able to have a family. I have two little girls now and a very loyal wife. I told her of my background. She is a devout Catholic and my little girls, she raises them as Catholics; and well, my experience has been that the humanitarianism of the people like the various fathers that I have met, I have taken instructions from them, and the people like that, the ordinary everyday citizen, they have no ax to grind, and your neighbor, and so on, is, well, far different and totally opposed to the, well, so-called concern that they express, in their philosophy, for the workingman.

Well, I just—the way I feel now and the way it was, and it was an easy thing for me; practically all my growing-up period, the formative period, my thoughts and so on, and I had been active, and it wasn't complete and definite, actually, until I decided to come out in California.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Mr. WILDMAN. After I got—see, I hadn't definitely made up my mind. In 1944 I went into the service—the first part of 1945—and I served overseas in the South Pacific in the Army almost 2 years.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you send in a written resignation?

Mr. WILDMAN. No. I just never went back.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you notify them that you weren't coming back?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. WHEELER. Did they solicit you to come back?

Mr. WILDMAN. I was discharged in Seattle and I saw a few of them. I was still on terminal leave. They were always very careful about that. I mean, the subject never came up about it. I had known some of these people. They had been my friends.

Mr. WHEELER. But you worked right along with Burt Nelson. Didn't he even ask you to come back?

Mr. WILDMAN. I don't think I saw Burt Nelson but maybe once or twice after that.

Mr. WHEELER. Didn't any of their leaders ask you?

Mr. WILDMAN. Before my terminal leave was up I came down to California and I dropped in to see Barbara Hartle and say hello to her, because she done me a lot of favors in the past. And that was in 1947. I probably had a cup of coffee with her, and then I was gone.

Mr. WHEELER. That was in Seattle?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. Outside of that, why, well, 1944 marks the last of my Communist activities, the last of my membership.

Mr. DOYLE. I was interested in your saying something about following the Russian example and you would have a better America. Do you remember saying something like that? What do you mean by that? Where did you get that phrase?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I meant in the context that is what they were preaching.

Mr. DOYLE. The Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Did they preach it in the Young Communist League?

Mr. WILDMAN. Definitely.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you preach it when you were a leader?

Mr. WILDMAN. I probably did.

Mr. DOYLE. Follow what example? The example of revolution?

Mr. WILDMAN. I think that was in context, yes, sir—of course.

Mr. DOYLE. The same kind of revolution, one of force and violence, over there?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, Mr. Doyle, you know, there has been a lot said, and I am convinced that they are right, about this force and violence. But you know, during all the time that I was in, personally, I never heard any of them but say they were opposed to force and violence. They will deny it to this day.

Mr. DOYLE. What do you mean that you are convinced they are right?

Mr. WILDMAN. At that time probably I was; but not now.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I know, but you were convinced of what then?

Mr. WILDMAN. That socialism would lead to a better America. I was sold on the program.

Mr. DOYLE. Sure, I understand that. But you have said now that—I am referring to the subject of force and violence, and as I understand it you said probably they are right but while you were in you never heard them advocate that. Is that what you mean?

Mr. WILDMAN. That is correct, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What did you mean by saying that probably they are right?

Mr. WILDMAN. I mean the stand of your committee, sir, about their advocacy and the Attorney General's office, and so on. The logical conclusion could but lead to force and violence; that every place where they have come to power has been over the necks of the opposition. But I swallowed it, their line, that any violence was forced upon them, you know. Of course, I studied a little bit. I read a great deal, not only the Communist material, but also everything I can get my hands on.

Mr. DOYLE. Surely, I realize that.

Mr. WILDMAN. And it seemed logical to me at that time.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me see if I understand it. You are telling me, in substance, that they were teaching, when you were in, that those who opposed them might sometime have to be wiped out by force and violence but it was force and violence that was being forced upon them, not that they were forcing upon other people?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, my understanding at the time, during this whole period, they used the example of Hitler. You know, the Communist definition of fascism, if I remember rightly, was the, well, the dictatorship of the big money boys; and by constitutional—by the use of the very instruments of the Constitution—this was their explanation and I accepted it at the time—that they would abolish and subvert that constitutionality. I mean, Hitler came to power more or less easily. He became chancellor of Germany. But there wasn't any illegality, actually. I suppose there are lawyers that could argue both sides, but the majority used this, and his intimidation to subvert the very thing, as chancellor, he was supposed to uphold. Well, that was their reasoning on violence. They would point out that.



I remember, in pointing it out, that a violence against Hitler, for example, would be the violence that they would stand for. Well, only a fool, actually, would go out and say, well, walk up to a man and say, "I feel force and violence in my heart against you," because it wouldn't accomplish anything; just put you in a position where you can go down and swear out a warrant and say, "He's threatening me." And sometimes in looking back I think that sometimes a mistake is made in regard to some of these people. There's a lot of these people that I have met, and they are sharpies; I mean, they have got a twisted mentality but it is a sharp mentality.

Mr. DOYLE. I wrote down here, the reason I was able to quote your language was that I wrote it down and you said your teaching followed the Russians and you would have a better America.

Mr. WILDMAN. Sir, I meant that in the context—that is what they preached.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the Russian example that you referred to?

Mr. WILDMAN. Russian revolution, definitely.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, were you considered by yourself as a member of the hard core of the Russian Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. No.

Mr. DOYLE. I mean of the Communist Party.

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, my family—I am the 12th generation in this country. Both my grandparents fought in the Union Army. I have always taken a great deal of pride in my family history; and it's been an American history.

I have always been quite proud of the fact that I more or less am a result of the melting pot because I have French ancestry, Norwegian, and Irish, and I have got English, French, and Dutch and German.

Mr. DOYLE. Quite a melting pot.

Mr. WILDMAN. My mother was Irish and French. My grandfather, the maternal grandfather was a doctor in the Union forces during the War Between the States, and he later became an attorney. And he was the attorney for the Union Pacific Railroad for a great many years, until he retired in Nebraska.

My other grandfather fought under Custer during the Civil War as a sharpshooter and scout. And I know those facts. I was taught about them and I have been proud of my family's history. I am not proud, sir, about my Communist activity. But I can be sincere with you and say that my intentions were good. I wasn't cheap and shoddy about them. I have never felt that I had done anything underhanded. Certainly, it is nothing to be proud of. I am ashamed of it, in fact.

Mr. DOYLE. What impelled you to go to the FBI, for instance?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, the FBI came to me, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What impelled you to cooperate with the FBI and this committee, say? Why did you feel that was appropriate?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I think, first of all, for the good of America that the sooner the workings are exposed the better.

Mr. DOYLE. Workings of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes. I told you that I was not proud of my Communist membership in the past. I am not. At the same time, why, I felt that the least I could do was make some restitution. I am sincere about it. I don't feel like an informer because my convictions on this subject go deeper than that, because I have been reading about these



people who say, "Well, I am not going to be an informer. I am not going to tell you who Joe was or who he is or anything." There is a lot of that.

Of course, I am just telling you something that you know far better than I do.

Mr. DOYLE. But aren't you what the Communists so often say before a committee, aren't you a "stool pigeon"?

Mr. WILDMAN. I don't think so, sir. During the time that I was a member I never made any particular secret of the fact of my feelings or convictions. I can remember in high school debate class I would come right out and say that I believed in communism. Certainly, I never made any secret of the fact of my affiliation at the time. And by the same token I am not ashamed now of the fact that I have changed my convictions on a lot of things and my outlook on life, my philosophy on a lot of things, things that are right under a person's nose that he accepts without thinking about them. And when you start contrasting it with the way those people in the Philippines and Japan live, the poverty they have, well, it begins to make you wonder how foolish a person can actually be.

I mean, it is awfully easy for Americans to accept the precedent of their living standards because they have never known anything else. There have been tough times; I know in my family there have been times when food was scarce. But I never starved.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any suggestion as to the function of this House Un-American Activities Committee, any suggestion as to how we might be more helpful or useful in our official capacity? Do you feel we are doing a job that is necessary to be done?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes, I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Why is it so necessary?

Mr. WILDMAN. Well, I think that for one thing, for the sake of a lot of these people that just got into the habit of being Communists. There are a lot of them. I mean, they haven't really followed through. With a little heat, for their own salvation, actually, I would make those people start thinking twice and reevaluating their position, what they have got to lose. And they do. I know that personally right now I think of what I could lose. I have a good job. I enjoy it immensely. I have a wife and two little girls. Well, the thought of any harm coming to them or anything like that, why—well, I don't think that—at least a lot of these people—there are some of these dedicated hard cores that will never change, but I think that a lot of these so-called rank and file members, if they were given an opportunity to review their position and what they have got to lose and what they actually have, that, well—I'd just parallel this with the Don Quixotes, chasing windmills, and I don't know whether most of those people have stopped to think what they have to lose.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, then, you feel the committee is doing a valuable and necessary function?

Mr. WILDMAN. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have anything further, Mr. Wheeler?

Mr. WHEELER. I have one question. When did you enter the United States Army?

Mr. WILDMAN. I entered it, I think, it was January 8, 1945.

Mr. WHEELER. And when were you discharged?

Mr. WILDMAN. I went on terminal leave the first part of October, and I don't know how much terminal leave—it was in November that my discharge was final.

Mr. WHEELER. 1946?

Mr. WILDMAN. 1946.

Mr. WHEELER. Honorable discharge?

Mr. WILDMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me thank you on behalf of the committee, Mr. Wildman, for your cooperation.

Mr. WILDMAN. Any time that I can cooperate further—there are a lot of things that I am hazy on. And you know, looking back and thinking about these things, you know, the Communists are taught not to remember, not to pry their nose into affairs that are not any of their business. It is true. And there is a lot of these names and people and events that took place, well, if I would see the names I could tell you. There were a lot of these people that were in and I think they have made a definite departure, and there are a lot of them that just went under cover. Of course, it is hard to tell.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much for your help. And good luck to you.

Mr. WILDMAN. Thank you.

(Whereupon the executive session was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 225, Old House Office Building, the Honorable Kit Clardy (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Kit Clardy (acting chairman) and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Courtney E. Owens, acting chief investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; Earl Fuoss, investigator; and Dolores Anderson, reporter.

Mr. CLARDY. Let the record show that the Honorable Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has appointed a subcommittee for the purposes of this hearing, consisting of the Honorable Francis E. Walter, Hon. Gordon H. Scherer, and myself, Kit Clardy, as acting chairman.

Let the record also show that two members, the Honorable Gordon H. Scherer and Kit Clardy, acting chairman, are present at this hearing.

Will the witness stand and be sworn, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MOORE. I do.

Mr. CLARDY. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. BOUDIN. My name is Leonard Boudin, of 25 Broad Street, New York 5.

Mr. CLARDY. I believe you have appeared before this committee before now, so you are familiar with our rules of procedure, I am sure.

Mr. BOUDIN. I recognize the chairman to be Representative Clardy. Could I have the name of the other gentleman, please?

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. BOUDIN. Thank you. I am somewhat familiar with them, yes. It is some time since I appeared before the committee, however.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is a subcommittee of three members here this morning, of which two, a quorum, are present with Mr. Clardy as chairman.

<sup>1</sup> Released by the committee.

Mr. BOUDIN. Yes. I see Mr. Clardy and Mr. Scherer.

Mr. CLARDY. You may proceed, Mr. Counsel, if you are ready.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name, please?

**TESTIMONY OF STANLEY WILLIAMS MOORE, ACCOMPANIED  
BY HIS COUNSEL, LEONARD BOUDIN**

Mr. MOORE. Stanley Williams Moore.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your present address is?

Mr. MOORE. 41 Bethune Street, New York 14.

I would like to ask, as a favor, a statement as to the subject being investigated by this committee.

Mr. CLARDY. The general subject is the power to investigate, being duly conferred on us by the statutes of the Congress of the United States.

Would you proceed, Mr. Counsel—

Mr. MOORE. I would like a general statement as to the subject being investigated here this morning.

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). To state the general purpose of the hearing, although that isn't required.

Mr. KUNZIG. The committee has stated, in its rules of procedure adopted July 15, 1953, that

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

It is in this field of subversive and un-American activities that you have been called before this committee today in order to question you regarding what knowledge you may have on certain specific items in this field.

Mr. MOORE. May I request a statement of the specific subjects upon which you are questioning me today?

Mr. CLARDY. That is as specific as the committee can be. We will ask you in considerable detail this morning as to your knowledge of this subject.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Moore, will you give a brief résumé of your educational background? I believe you were born in Oakland on July 24, 1914; is that correct?

Mr. MOORE. It is.

Mr. KUNZIG. Go ahead, please.

Mr. MOORE. I was educated in the lower public schools and high school in California, then went to the University of California, where I took my A. B. degree in 1935. I then spent a year at Harvard University in graduate school, from 1935 to 1936. Then I returned to the University of California, where I spent 4 more years—graduate work—taking my Ph. D. degree, in the summer of 1940, or it may be that the Ph. D. degree is 1941.

Mr. CLARDY. Where was the university located?

Mr. MOORE. At Berkeley. Excuse me.

Mr. CLARDY. I wanted to be sure.



Mr. MOORE. In those days there were the 2, the U. C. L. A. and the University of California. My Ph. D. degree was taken in 1940.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give the committee, if you would please, your employment background. A résumé of your employment.

Mr. MOORE. During the years I spent at the University of California—at least three of them—I was employed by them as teaching assistant in philosophy. After receiving my Ph. D. I was employed as an instructor and tutor in philosophy, at Harvard University.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that from 1940 to 1942?

Mr. MOORE. From 1940 to 1942; yes. That would be academic years, incidentally, and they start in the summer. You have probably had experience with that.

In the summer of 1942 I went to the United States Air Force for the Army and spent the next 4 years there. Would you like details on that?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes, we would.

Mr. KUNZIG. Go ahead, please.

Mr. MOORE. I entered as an enlisted man in June of 1942, and after basic training, attended a school for Link trainers—Link trainer operators. I then taught in a school for Link trainer operators for a few months and went to Officer's Candidate School at Miami Beach, Fla. Then went to Harvard Business School at Cambridge. I graduated from Officer's Candidate School, and taught there for a while, specializing in statistical controls. After a few months service in the Officer's Candidate School I went overseas to the United Kingdom, where I served in the 8th Air Force Headquarters.

Mr. CLARDY. Meaning England, when you say United Kingdom?

Mr. MOORE. That is what they called it.

Mr. CLARDY. I know they did, but we midwesterners like to be a little more specific, and we call it England.

Mr. MOORE. That is right. I spent the next 3 years in Europe, serving mainly in the 8th Air Force Headquarters, which became known later on as the 8th Strategic Air Force of Europe. I left the Army with the rank of major in the middle of 1946.

My next employment was as a part-time lecturer in philosophy at the University of California, in Berkeley, and this was in the latter part of 1946.

My next employment was at Reed College, in Portland, Oreg., and lasted from 1948—the academic year, which commenced in the summer of 1948—until the spring of 1953.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you spell the name of this college?

Mr. MOORE. R-e-e-d College.

Mr. CLARDY. Reed, yes. I didn't quite catch the name or I wouldn't have asked you to spell it.

Mr. MOORE. I am sorry. I am now on leave of absence from Reed College.

Mr. KUNZIG. What sort of leave of absence is that?

Mr. MOORE. It means I am on leave and am to go back there, but I am not being paid a salary at the present time. Whether I go back there depends on my wishes at the time, rather than the fact of their calling me back.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I ask what your present employment is then?

Mr. MOORE. I am taking a year off to do research in writing.

Mr. CLARDY. A sort of sabbatical leave?

Mr. MOORE. Excuse me, sir. A sabbatical leave involves pay and my leave of absence is not with pay.

Mr. CLARDY. I understand. You didn't catch the two words "sort of."

Mr. KUNZIG. So you are on leave for a year, writing and so forth, but without pay.

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. In what field?

Mr. MOORE. Philosophy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you go back to Reed College after your leave of absence, if you desire to?

Mr. MOORE. According to the present situation, the option is mine. I am not under contract now, but I have, for what it is worth these days, "tenure," which means the obligation is on the part of the college to employ me. The burden of proof, in other words, is on their side, not mine.

Mr. CLARDY. You are sort of in the position of a Government employee who resigns, and who has civil service status and can go back if he desires to do so.

Mr. MOORE. I am not familiar with the Government or civil service regulations.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Moore, did you ever know a Charles David Blodgett?

Mr. MOORE. Could you spell the name, sir?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, B-l-o-d-g-e-t-t.

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon two grounds. First, I feel it invades my right to freedom of speech and association under the first amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to interrupt you at that point to tell you that this committee has taken the position that the first amendment is not recognized by it as a solid ground for refusal to answer.

Mr. MOORE. I have not finished my answer, but if I might interject parenthetically—my lawyer has confirmed to me that the question of the first amendment is now under consideration by the Supreme Court. In case they do decide in favor of using the first amendment, I would like to have it in there.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are correct. The Emspak case now being heard before the Supreme Court involves the use of the first amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. While we do not agree with its usage, you can do so if you wish. I just wanted to let you know the feeling of the committee.

Mr. MOORE. Secondly, that under the fifth amendment I cannot be compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. CLARDY. In a criminal proceeding, if you want to quote it accurately.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are raising the first and the fifth amendments then, as your refusal to answer?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Very well. You have the right to do so even though we do not think you have the legal right. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Charles D. Blodgett, Mr. Chairman, has testified in executive session before this committee in March of 1954 that he knew you back in California, and—

Mr. CLARDY. You don't mean me, you mean the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of course, pardon me.

I should say that he knew the witness, Mr. Moore, in California. He also testified that he, Mr. Blodgett, was a member of the Communist Party and was employed as a staff writer of the Daily People's World in the Oakland, Calif., office. He went on to say, "In my capacity as an employee of the Daily People's World, I was required to attend meetings of the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party of Alameda County, as an observer. These meetings were closed Communist Party meetings."

He said, and testified under oath, Mr. Moore, that you attended some of those meetings with respect to the years of 1946 and 1947.

Did you ever attend any meetings of the political affairs committee of the Communist Party in Alameda County?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be sufficient to say "on the grounds previously advanced" and we will understand that you are referring to the specific grounds under the Constitution which you have mentioned, the first and fifth amendments, even though we do not agree with you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then the witness, Mr. Blodgett, further testified that he recalled specifically meeting you, Mr. Moore, and a conversation took place in the Alameda County CIO Building on Grand, G-r-a-n-d, Avenue, Oakland, Calif., just prior to a meeting of the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party which was being held at that building, and he said you complimented him on a story which he had written, appearing in the Daily People's World relating to the ownership and control of the Oakland Tribune by Mr. Joseph R. Knowland, father of United States Senator William F. Knowland, of California. You suggested that you could provide Mr. Blodgett with some additional information about Mr. Knowland that you thought should well be included in the feature story which appeared in the Daily People's World regarding Mr. Knowland's connections in Spain.

Did you ever have such a conversation with Mr. Blodgett?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you familiar with, or do you know the location of the building described in the preceding question?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. The Chair directs that you answer the question. I don't regard the invocation of the first or fifth amendment as being applicable to that kind of question. The question has to do only with whether or not you know the location and are familiar with the building that has been described in the question asked by Mr. Kunzig.

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. I wonder if I could have read to me from the record the question of Mr. Kunzig before the question of the chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. My question had to do, Witness, only with whether you are familiar with the location of the building, or whether you know the location of the building. There was nothing at all in my question dealing with this meeting, the meeting with Mr. Blodgett.

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)



Mr. SCHERER. May I suggest that we ask him a question in this way? By merely stating—"Do you know this particular address?"

Mr. CLARDY. I am rephrasing my question so there will be no question in your mind. Witness, do you know, in Oakland, Calif., a building known as the Alameda County CIO Building, located on Grand Avenue?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Now I direct that you answer that question because I do not think the invocation of the two amendments is at all proper.

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. CLARDY. You can answer the question I have submitted to you, sir, or decline, as you wish. My question has nothing to do now with anything that has been asked by Mr. Kunzig. I am asking about the building.

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you acquainted with the fact that there is a street in Oakland by the name of Grand?

Mr. MOORE. Yes. The name of it is Grand Avenue, not Grand Street.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you familiar with the fact that the CIO owns the building located on that street or avenue?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. You are directed to answer.

Mr. MOORE. Must I answer again? I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever attend a meeting of any kind at the CIO Building located on Grand Avenue in Oakland, Calif.?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was it you left the bay area and went to Reed College?

Mr. MOORE. It was in the autumn or late summer of 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want the record to show that the testimony shows that Mr. Moore had left the bay area at that time and he had taken up the position as teacher at Reed College. That was the testimony of Mr. Blodgett.

Now let me ask you this specific question, Mr. Moore. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever been a member of any organization known as a Communist front?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. As a teacher of philosophy, are you familiar with the general public interpretation of the phrase I used "Communist front?"



(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. Uh—I don't know of one particular general interpretation of this phrase.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have any understanding at all of what the term generally is intended to mean?

Mr. MOORE. I have heard of organizations called Communist-front organizations.

Mr. CLARDY. By that you mean, as I do, organizations that are furthering the positions or intentions of the Communist Party, whether actually being a part of the Communist Party itself?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. Sir, my answer was, "I had heard of organizations called that." My inference is that the people who called them that understood the term in the sense you gave.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you. Now, have you ever attended any meetings of any Communist-front organizations anywhere or at any time?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever solicited members in a Communist-front organization, or in the Communist Party itself?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have in my hands a copy of the Daily People's World, dated Friday, August 29, 1947. On page 4 thereof there appears—and I assume it is an advertisement—under the heading "Philosophy Psychology, a day-long seminar this Sunday, August 31, on the foundations of philosophy," and so forth and so on. It lists Stanley Moore as instructor, along with several others. This is an ad for the California Labor School, 240 Golden Gate, San Francisco—a group that has been cited by the United States Attorney General.

Did you act as an instructor for this school?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever had any knowledge about the existence of such a school?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever present yourself at any time at the address given in this ad, that is, 240 Golden Gate, San Francisco?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record should also show, Mr. Chairman, that the Daily People's World has been cited as "The official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast," by the "Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of March 29, 1944, p. 95." It is also cited in the "Report, Jan. 3, 1941, p. 10."

The Daily People's World of Friday, February 6, 1948, page 5 thereof, in a story about

George Hitchcock, of the California Labor School staff, and Stanley Moore, former instructor at Harvard will lead the discussion on Marxism and Philosophy in the second of six forum sessions commemorating 100 years of scientific socialism, Friday, at 8:30 p. m., at the California Labor School, 240 Golden Gate Ave.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt you, Counsel? Is a George Hitchcock mentioned in this article and also in the ad in the 1947 paper? Is that correct?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct.

Did you teach or give this course at the second of these six forum sessions, as described in the Daily People's World of Friday, February 6, 1948?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Was this report an incorrect report?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you familiar with the fact that there was such a forum, or speaking series of lectures at the address given?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously given.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, to move ahead a little—the Tuesday, August 9, 1949, edition of the Daily People's World—during the time, Mr. Moore, you were at Reed College—has an article on page 5 which was presented by the California Labor School of 240 Golden Gate Avenue, and which reads in the first paragraph:

SAN FRANCISCO.—A week of special events in the fields of philosophy and psychology will be presented by the California Labor School, 240 Golden Gate Avenue, in its third annual philosophy conference commencing Friday evening, August 12.

It lists, printed in the third paragraph—

Dr. Stanley Moore, philosophy department, Reed College, will speak on Two Concepts of Political Freedom in Modern Philosophy.

Mr. CLARDY. And the chairman of the evening was George Hitchcock, mentioned in the prior articles?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir. George Hitchcock.

Did you speak at this Friday evening meeting, as listed in the Daily People's World, of Tuesday, August 9, 1949, on page 5?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you acquainted with George Hitchcock who was mentioned in these articles?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you know where George Hitchcock is at present?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. In that article there was also listed a Charles R. Garry, attorney, Angela Ward, and Philip Carter.

Did you know Charles R. Garry?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. CLARDY. Now will you answer the question?

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Charles R. Garry?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Angela Ward?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Philip Carter?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you know whether any of those three persons were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, while you were teaching at Reed College, how many times did you go down to teach at the California Labor School?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. While you were at Reed College, and teaching there, did you meet with any Communist-front organization, such as the one already mentioned?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever attend any Communist Party meeting in Portland, Oreg.?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, let us see: You have been away from Reed College during the present academic year, is that right?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Up until the beginning of this academic year you were teaching there?

Mr. MOORE. For 5 years.

Mr. CLARDY. During any of the time since 1949 and up until the beginning of the present academic year, did you take part in any forum discussions or schools of the kind described in the articles that have been read to you?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Since the beginning of this academic year, have you taken part in any such schools, forums, or discussions anywhere?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you attended any Communist Party meetings in the city where you now reside?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you attended any meeting of any Communist-front organization, either the one that was described in the articles, or of any other description?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been questioned by Reed College authorities along the lines you have been questioned this morning? (At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever informed the authorities at Reed College of the fact that you did lecture or address these forums that have been discussed in the previous questions?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been questioned by any college group or government group along the lines you have been questioned this morning?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)



Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, at any time subsequent to June 1, 1948, have you attended any meetings of any kind at 216 Market Street in San Francisco, Calif.?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. At any time since June 1, 1948, have you attended any meetings of any kind at 240 Golden Gate Avenue?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. CLARDY. I believe that is an Oakland address, is it not?

Mr. MOORE. If my memory serves me, in Mr. Kunzig's questioning this address appeared, but I am not sure.

Mr. CLARDY. I am asking you if you know whether 240 Golden Gate Avenue is in San Francisco or in Oakland?

Mr. MOORE. It seems to me it is a San Francisco address.

Mr. CLARDY. It has a dateline of San Francisco. At any rate, in either of the towns have you ever attended a meeting at the address given, since June 1, 1948?

Mr. MOORE. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you ever made aware of the fact that the Attorney General of the United States had cited an organization known as the California Labor School as a subversive group?

Mr. MOORE. I refuse to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer that question. It merely asks you to answer something that is public or common knowledge, and I do not regard the use of the first and fifth amendment as applicable in this particular instance.

Mr. MOORE. I refuse to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you ever made aware of the fact that the Daily People's World has been cited also?

Mr. MOORE. I refuse to answer the question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever make any investigation to discover if either the Daily People's World or the California Labor School were subversive organizations?

Mr. MOORE. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. If you should discover for the first time, in the progress of this hearing, that the California Labor School was and is a Communist-front organization, and has been so cited, would you in the future attend or give lectures such as have been described in the articles we have read to you?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the questions on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show that of the three newspaper items we discussed previously, the one dated Tuesday, August 9, 1949, which describes Mr. Stanley Moore as teaching in the California Labor School was a date which is later than the citation of the California Labor School.



Mr. CLARDY. Yes, I had that in mind during my questioning.

Mr. KUNZIG. I know you did, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever work in any way in defense work while you were a teacher?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever done any confidential work or secret work of any kind?

Mr. MOORE. Excuse me. If I might amend that answer—it is trivial but while I was at Harvard I was a part of the block system of air raid defense.

Mr. CLARDY. We are speaking about engaging in secret work for the Government or defense.

Mr. MOORE. I knew you were but I wanted to make my answer clear upon a technical point.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you in any way since the war do any sort of confidential work for the Government?

Mr. MOORE. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Since you are now on leave, when and if you seek to return to the position you held in the past at Reed College, is it your intention to inform them of the facts that have been developed in this proceeding, concerning your lectures in the [California] Labor School and such things as we have discussed?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, I cannot answer that question in the affirmative because I do not feel that facts have been developed but one of the reasons I asked for a transcript of this proceeding is that I might be able to give it to the people at Reed College.

Mr. CLARDY. That will be printed in due course if the committee authorizes it to be done. I take it, then you will inform the college of the facts given in the copy of the printed release, when and if it is released?

Mr. MOORE. Sir, I would like to phrase that differently.

Mr. CLARDY. I will phrase the question. You phrase the answer.

Mr. MOORE. Since it contains the phrase "inform them of the facts that have been developed"—for the reasons given before I do intend to give them a copy of the transcript.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you advise them that you have been at some time or other a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you advise them that you have lectured before a group found by the Attorney General to be subversive?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you intend to represent to them that you are not now and never have been at any time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever engaged in any activities that could possibly incriminate you in any way?

(At this point Mr. Moore conferred with Mr. Boudin.)

Mr. MOORE. I will have to ask for a clarification of that question.

Mr. CLARDY. I do not think it needs it. A man knows whether he has been engaged in any activities of an incriminating nature. I am endeavoring to discover whether you have invoked the fifth amendment in good faith. If you have not engaged in such actions——

Mr. MOORE. That is precisely the point, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. My question is a very simple one and I will restate it. Have you ever engaged in any criminal activities in any way whatsoever?

Mr. MOORE. If I may clarify my answer——

Mr. CLARDY. You may if you wish.

Mr. MOORE. The taking of the fifth amendment, which as I understand it is the privilege not to be compelled to be a witness against one's self in a criminal proceeding. To take the fifth amendment is not an admission that if the question were answered truthfully one would be admitting guilt of a crime—only an admission that to answer the question might be used in a criminal investigation against one.

Mr. CLARDY. Your interpretation is entirely unfounded but you have the privilege of giving it. My question is very clear.

Have you ever engaged in any activity of a criminal nature, whether it be subversive or what have you? I understand your philosophical position. Just answer the question, sir.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, sir. I will decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever engaged in any activity that could by any stretch of imagination be called subversive by nature?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. If it lies within your knowledge, do you know whether Reed College knows at the present time the items discussed here this morning—prior to this—whether it may be raised in the future?

Mr. MOORE. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously given.

Mr. CLARDY. Hold it just a minute. I have my office on the phone. (At this point Mr. Clardy left the hearing room.)

(Mr. Clardy returned to hearing room within a few minutes and the hearing was resumed.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have nothing in particular to further question the witness about.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Scherer, do you have any further questions?

Mr. SCHERER. Just one question, yes.

Your previous question with reference to appearing before any other congressional committee wasn't clear. Let me ask you this: Have you ever testified before any other congressional committee?

Mr. MOORE. No.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Is that all you have, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Those are all the questions I have.

Mr. CLARDY. Nothing further?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Very well. The witness is excused and the hearing adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:30 a. m., Wednesday, June 2, 1954, the executive session adjourned.)

# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 1

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

EXECUTIVE SESSION <sup>1</sup>

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 5:55 p. m., in room 225 of the Old House Office Building, the Honorable Gordon H. Scherer (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representative Gordon H. Scherer, acting Chairman.

Staff members present: Mr. Courtney E. Owens, acting chief investigator; Mr. James Andrews, committee investigator; Mrs. Dolores Anderson, reporter.

Mr. SCHERER. Let the record show that the Honorable Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has appointed a subcommittee for the purpose of this hearing, consisting of myself, Gordon Scherer, as chairman.

Will the witness raise her right hand, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. OWEN. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that in the absence of our counsel, Mr. Kunzig and Mr. Tavenner, the interrogation will be conducted by both Mr. Owens and Mr. Andrews.

Will you proceed, please?

Mr. OWENS. During the time you were a member of the Communist Party in Portland, did you come by knowledge that there existed in Portland a professional branch of the Communist Party?

## TESTIMONY OF MARJORIE JEAN OWEN

Mrs. OWEN. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Did you ever have occasion to meet with this group?

Mrs. OWEN. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Will you explain the circumstances under which you met with this professional branch of the Communist Party in Portland?

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<sup>1</sup> Portion of this session released by the committee.

Mrs. OWEN. I was a member of the financial commission and it was my duty to collect dues or money from the professional group. I didn't collect from each individual, but from the secretaries.

Mr. OWENS. Can you fix an approximate date at the time you became a member of the financial commission of the Communist Party in Portland?

Mrs. OWEN. Somewhere in 1949 or 1950.

Mr. OWENS. Can you recall the names of any individuals who were members of the professional group in Portland?

Mrs. OWEN. Bob Cannon, or Canon. I believe he is at Reed College, but of course I am not sure. He was when I left. Also his wife, B. J. Cannon. That was what she was called, B. J. And Virginia Reynolds.

Mr. OWENS. Is Virginia Reynolds the wife of a Professor at Reed College?

Mrs. OWEN. Yes. And Stanley Moore. He was a professor at Reed College. No; I don't know if he was a professor at that time, but he was an instructor at Reed.

Mr. OWENS. What subject did he teach?

Mrs. OWEN. Philosophy.

Mr. OWENS. Do you know that he taught philosophy?

Mrs. OWEN. I knew then. My recollection is that he taught philosophy.

Mr. OWENS. Mrs. Owen, will you explain the circumstances under which you met Stanley Moore and these other individuals as Communist Party members?

Mrs. OWEN. The financial commission assessed and assigned a certain amount of money to be raised by each club and the members of the financial commission divided the clubs up, and I had the professional club assigned to me as one of them, the club in which these people were members.

(Whereupon the session was continued on other matters of interest to the committee.)



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*State*

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 2 (SEATTLE)  
(Testimony of Barbara Hartle)

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

\_\_\_\_\_  
JUNE 14 AND 15, 1954  
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Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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• COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(g) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 2 (SEATTLE)

(Testimony of Barbara Hartle)

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MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Seattle, Wash.*

PUBLIC HEARING

MORNING SESSION

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 9:03 a. m., in room 402, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash., Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr. (appearance noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, staff investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Let the record show that present are Mr. Jackson, of California; Mr. Clardy, of Michigan; Mr. Scherer, of Ohio; Mr. Doyle, of California; and myself, of Illinois; and we expect Mr. Frazier, of Tennessee, to be here in a few moments. The full quorum of the committee is present.

May I make a brief opening statement regarding the purpose of our hearings here in the great city of Seattle?

Today the House Committee on Un-American Activities is commencing hearings dealing with the efforts and success of subversive infiltration in the Northwest area of the United States. There is probably no section of the United States that possesses a more strategic importance than this area. The history of our great Nation shows that in the development of our resources and power there was a constant movement westward. Each step brought about new frontiers for our fathers and forefathers to settle and develop. What was to them a last frontier might well be considered today in terms of the first.

We Members of Congress recognize this fact and, unfortunately, so have the enemies of this country.

The committee has in its records a document which shows the design of the Communist Party toward the Northwest as early as 1935.

We must realize that while this document is nearly 20 years old, it states the pattern for Communist infiltration in this area, and you may judge from the testimony that ensues during the hearings the degree of success this insidious growth has had.

This document contains the resolutions of the central political bureau of the Seattle district of the Communist Party and the district plan of work.

Most of you will recall that during the time this document was written there had been in this area strikes involving the marine and lumber industries. The Communist Party hoped to utilize the difficulties ensuing from the strikes to strengthen their forces in this vicinity.

I should like to quote briefly portions of this resolution to show you the importance the Communist Party attached to the Washington, Oregon, and Montana districts. They stated:

In the past year the party has made progress in changing the character of the district from a membership based almost exclusively on the migratory single unemployed to a membership comprising a fair percentage of unemployed workers and members of the trade unions. Membership is making progress in learning how to carry on revolutionary work within the A.F. of L., and it is of the utmost importance that the party recruit into the ranks the most militant elements among lumber strikers in the most important centers and decisive mills, so that after after the strike the party will not sink back again into the former isolation from the lumber workers but will have a network of shop nuclei in the most important mills and camps and functioning fractions in the union locals and committees. The party must utilize the experience gained in the marine and lumber struggles to strengthen the forces and to improve its work in other A.F. of L. unions.

(At this point Mr. Frazier entered the room.)

It is largely owing to the backwardness in this field that the party was unable to mobilize more effective support to the marine strikers last year and the lumber strikers this year. Similarly, in the other industries besides lumber and marine, especially in the war industries and plants, the party must make a real improvement in the shopwork, considerably increasing the number of functioning shop nuclei which are still at a very low figure in the district. The entire party must be brought to understand the strategic importance of the Pacific Northwest in American imperialism's program of war preparations. The building of a broad united front against war and fascism must become a part of the daily tasks of the district. The Northwest Congress Against War and Fascism was an effective step in this direction. The party must help strengthen the united front in the Northwest section of the American League Against War and Fascism and strengthen the base of the league in the trade unions.

These portions of this Communist resolution clearly indicate the importance of the Northwest area in the Communist conspiracy.

We are fortunate in having available valuable testimony from persons who are in a position to testify about the Communist machinations in district No. 12 of the Communist Party. I should like to state that these persons, who have for a long period worked against the common interests of all good Americans, have now in their power, through their testimony, the opportunity to take an important step back toward the road of being good, loyal Americans.

Since this is the first time that this committee has held hearings in this area, I feel that I should briefly explain what the duties and functions of this committee are.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has been directed by the Congress to investigate and hold hearings to ascertain the extent, character, and objectives of the un-American propaganda activities in the United States, to investigate the diffusion within the United



States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries, and of a domestic origin which attack the principles of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

As a result of the work performed by this committee, the Internal Security Act of 1950 was made into law. Also, as a result of investigations and hearings by this committee, there have been 47 recommendations made by this committee to the Congress for new legislation or the strengthening of existing legislation.

I am proud to state that there has been action on all but 8 of these recommendations, and of these 8 the Attorney General of the United States has within the past few months advised the Congress that in order to maintain security for this Nation there should be enacted legislation identical with 4 of the committee's recommendations.

These recommendations are for the broadening of the admissibility of evidence for espionage and cases involving the internal security; for immunity of witnesses appearing before authorized Federal bodies; for the death penalty for espionage committed in peacetime; and for legislation which would break the hold of the Communist labor leaders of union organizations.

It is in furtherance of the directions of the Congress that we are here today. The able staff of this committee has spent long, hard hours developing information upon which these hearings are based. Many subpoenas have been issued for persons in this area or for those who possess information relating to the area. Every person subpoenaed by this committee was called because the committee is aware that these persons possess information which, if furnished, will assist the committee in its legislative duty. Every witness appearing here is entitled to be accompanied by counsel of his choosing and may consult with counsel whenever he desires.

I should like to point out that the fact that an attorney is representing any witness appearing before this committee, notwithstanding whatever attitude may be displayed by that witness, that this committee does not desire and strongly discourages any inference of disloyalty on the part of that attorney. It is certainly one of the proudest heritages of members of the bar that they will defend individuals no matter how unpopular the actions of that individual may be.

It is a standing rule of the committee that any person who is named in these hearings be given an opportunity to appear before the committee if he desires, and he should communicate with committee counsel for this purpose.

On behalf of the committee and its staff, I wish to extend our thanks and appreciation to Mayor Pomeroy, the board of commissioners, who so kindly permitted the use of this hearing room, United States Marshal William B. Parsons, Sheriff Harlan S. Callahan, and Chief of Police Lawrence, and all the efficient and hardworking members of the police force of this area for everything they have done to make possible safe, effective, and informative hearings for the general citizenry of this Northwest area.

You folks in the physical audience here today are guests of the Congress of the United States. The committee cannot function properly if any disturbance is caused and no disturbance will be tolerated. I

appoint the police here now as deputy sergeants at arms to act in case anyone does make any particular disturbance that will interfere with the holding of these hearings.

None of us members represent the great State of Washington. We do have one who may be called next-to-a-native-son—Congressman Doyle of California who, I understand, spent some years here in Seattle.

Will you say a few words, Mr. Doyle?

MR. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your calling attention to the fact that when I was a little boy, back in 1902 and 1903 and 1904, I had the pleasure of living up here in what I learned then was called God's country; and I did graduate, Mr. Chairman, from the University Heights Grammar School here in Seattle. I remember with a great deal of affection my principal, Mr. Shaw, and my classroom teacher, Miss Gauthier. In those days, Mr. Chairman, I lived with my sister and her distinguished husband, Rev. Thomas Wiswold, who was the first pastor of the University Congregational Church, and I always enjoy coming back to the Pacific Northwest, which I learned very much to love.

I think it appropriate, Mr. Chairman, for me to say that while I am the nearest thing on this committee to a native son of Washington, I am likewise very proud of the fact that I am a native son of the golden State of California. Next to California, however, I love Washington, where my lovely wife was born.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that you mentioned in your very fine preliminary remarks the attitude that this committee has about lawyers appearing with witnesses, I was very pleased to note in the paper yesterday that the board of trustees of the Seattle Bar Association had issued a statement which appeared in the paper and, with your permission, I would like to read it. It is very brief.

MR. VELDE. Proceed, sir.

MR. DOYLE. Being a member of the California State Bar and also a member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States. I take great pleasure in complimenting the Seattle Bar Association for making his resolution, which reads as follows:

Throughout the course of history, lawyers have been called frequently to represent and defend persons and causes known to be unpopular. The lawyer has a duty to assert for his client every remedy or defense authorized by law. Such representation, when performed in accordance with ethical standards, is lawful and proper.

The preceding paragraph, Mr. Chairman, to that statement read as follows:

The committee rules provide that witnesses may have counsel. The board of trustees of the Seattle Bar Association issued a statement yesterday that the public should draw no unfair inference concerning an attorney who represents a client who is uncooperative with the committee.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your courtesy.

MR. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

MR. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I don't think we should overlook the fact that the chief of our research division, Mr. Raphael I. Nixon, was raised in this town.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Will you call your first witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Barbara Hartle.

TESTIMONY OF BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED BY SPECIAL  
UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHAL DOROTHEA HALL

Mr. VELDE. Will you stand and be sworn, please?

In the testimony that you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. HARTLE. I do.

Mr. VELDE. You may be seated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name, please, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Barbara Hartle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I have a few preliminary matters that I wish to go into prior to the initiation of the questioning.

Have you been promised, Mrs. Hartle, any immunity or any repayment of any kind for your appearance here today?

Mrs. HARTLE. None whatever.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, your testimony is entirely voluntary on your part?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. And, of course, you have been subpoenaed by the committee.

Now, Mrs. Hartle you have previously been convicted in a Smith Act case, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Am I also correct in that you have waived appeal in your case?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was your sentence, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. 5 years imprisonment and \$1,000 fine.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you have just begun serving that term, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to state for the record that with the cooperation of the executive branch of the Government and the Justice Department, Mrs. Hartle is here today, of course in the custody of a matron of the United States marshal's office. The matron is sitting next to Mrs. Hartle at the present time and will remain with her during her entire time out of prison.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. May I suggest that counsel give some explanation of what the Smith Act conviction really means? I am quite sure that most people do not understand or know what it is about.

Mr. VELDE. I suggest that the gentleman from Michigan make a brief explanation of it.

Mr. CLARDY. I merely wanted to make it clear on the record, Mr. Chairman, so that all those who may see and hear the witness will know that she, along with a number of others, have been convicted of being part of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government through the use of force and violence.



Mr. VELDE. Thank you, Mr. Clardy.

Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you born, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was born in Doty, Wash.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is the practice of this committee, under its long-standing rules, to explain to every witness that he or she has a right to consult counsel or to have counsel sitting by them during the testimony.

I note that you do not have counsel, Mrs. Hartle. Is it your desire to testify without counsel?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee, please, your educational background?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was graduated from high school in Grants Pass, Oreg., and from college at Washington State College in 1929.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the extent of your formal education?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was your major in college, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. I majored in English.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee, please, what your class standing was in school?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was graduated with what was called high honors.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of any organization that had to do with honors?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you are today?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am still a member; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You finished your educational training in 1929. Would you kindly give the committee a brief résumé of your employment?

Mrs. HARTLE. After being graduated from college, I worked for a time in Spokane for a weekly women's newspaper, the Spokane Woman, and then I became employed in the advertising department of the Crescent Department Store and I worked there about 4 years.

Mr. KUNZIG. What followed that period?

Mrs. HARTLE. After that period, I started a circulating library in the Palace Department Store in Spokane, and shortly after that I moved to the Peyton Building and I had that circulating library and gift shop about 4 years.

Mr. KUNZIG. What year was it when you ended that period of the circulating library?

Mrs. HARTLE. About 1933.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are just going now through a hasty résumé of your work.

What work did you take up at that time?

Mrs. HARTLE. At that time I joined the Communist Party—about that time, too.

Mr. KUNZIG. Perhaps at this point it would be as good a time as any to ask you to please explain to the committee in your own words, in some detail, just why you joined the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I had been laid off from the Crescent Department Store, along with others who were laid off at that time because of reduction in force. I was not fired, but there was a depression then and people were being laid off. And during that time many people



were discussing the depression and the effects of it. And I was trying to learn to be a writer and I read in a writer's booklet that you have to read both sides of every question to be a good writer. I wanted to be a great writer, so I read both sides; and one of these sides was Karl Marx' *Das Kapital*, which I secured in the public library and read. And after reading that, I became convinced that something had to be done.

And Karl Marx talks about the Socialist Party; he doesn't talk about the Communist Party. And although I didn't feel very enthusiastic about it, I felt, after reading and studying that book, *Das Kapital*, volume I, that I should go and join the Socialist Party, which I did first. The Communist Party recruited me out of the Socialist Party into the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. J. H. Van Orman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know his present whereabouts or address today?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I do not.

Mr. KUNZIG. This Mr. Van Orman you knew then to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, he was the section organizer of the Communist Party in Spokane at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did he go about getting you into the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. There was a foreword to my going into the Communist Party. I was first asked to join the Friends of the Soviet Union, which was an organization that was supposedly working for friendship between the Soviet Union and the United States. I had some doubts about Soviet Russia. I had read about the labor slave camps in Siberia and I undoubtedly expressed some of these doubts, but by getting into the Friends of the Soviet Union and hearing much talk—many speakers—and reading much material, those doubts were evidently resolved sufficiently for me at that time so that I was prepared through the Friends of the Soviet Union membership for recruitment into the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now would you please, **just briefly, give us the rest of your employment up to the present time, so that we have the over-all picture?** Then we will go back and delve into many portions of your life.

Mrs. HARTLE. In about 1937 I sold my book store at the behest of the district organizer, Morris Rappaport, and worked about a year or a year and a half in the Workers' Book Store in Spokane, which was the Communist Party bookstore.

After that, I had a leave of absence from the Communist Party for a period, in which I worked in Montana in my sister's restaurant and was not active organizationally in the Communist Party, although I took the *Daily Worker* and constantly put forth resolutions in the union I belonged to along the Communist Party line.

In about 1940 I came back to Spokane and, after working a very short time in a restaurant, I was put on as a full-time organizer of the Communist Party in Spokane, until June of 1942.

At that time the district leadership prevailed upon me to come to Seattle, and I worked for the Communist Party as an organizer in Seattle from 1942 to 1950, about July. At that time I was sent underground by the district leadership.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you remained underground, Mrs. Hartle, until when?

Mrs. HARTLE. Until I was arrested by the FBI on September 17, 1952.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I think the witness should explain at this time what she means by being sent underground.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you kindly do that, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, by being sent underground, I mean that one of the district officials came to my house, when I was busy trying to sell some furniture and rearrange my living accommodations, and he walked in the door and he said, "Well, Barbara, this is it." And I had no idea of what he meant "it" would be. I was somewhat startled. And then he explained to me that conditions were getting very serious and that some people were going to have to leave the district.

He asked me to come to a meeting in a park in this city and I came to that meeting. Four persons were present—all district leaders, and there it was discussed which two people should leave this district, assume false names and live completely incognito until such a time as the operating leadership might be arrested or removed, with the understanding that then whichever of us went underground would then assume that leadership.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think for the present time that is sufficient for a brief explanation of going underground, Mrs. Hartle. We will go into that in much greater detail at a further point in your testimony.

Now, Mrs. Hartle, before going into specific points of your testimony, I wish you would explain to the committee, as you have so carefully to us, in detail, just how you came to make the decision to talk with the FBI and with this committee and why you decided to break and leave the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think I should start by saying that my breaking with the Communist Party was not a simple, single act; that this breaking with the Communist Party covered a period of years; that from time to time I had questions and doubts about the policies and practices of the party; but each time, through some way or another, these doubts would either be forgotten or somewhat resolved and I would go forward.

One of the reasons that I agreed to go underground, not realizing how serious a situation that would be—an impossible situation for a person of my temperament and attitude—was that I was so tired of organizational activity and problems that did not seem to be leading to anything fruitful, and I just accepted the assignment to go underground in the hopes that I could get away from this constant rush and bustle and difficulties that I couldn't seem to help to resolve.

My agreeing to go underground was actually a part of my breaking away from the Communist Party, although it might not seem so to many persons.

Then when I was underground, I had time to myself and I took the opportunity to resume reading of literary classics which I was very interested in throughout my life, and I found that by reading that kind of material again my mind became more settled down and I began to feel better; my health got better.

I also started doing sewing and crocheting and things that I had had no time for in the Communist Party, and I began to enjoy having

a life somewhat ordered and with some semblance of peace about it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was life in the Communist Party one emergency after another?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it certainly is—one emergency after another—one crisis after another.

And then, after being gone for a while, I decided, while I was underground, that I would quit the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was this, to the best of your remembrance?

Mrs. HARTLE. About the beginning of 1952. I decided that I would just quit the Communist Party; that if Communists wanted to go on and do what they were doing, that was probably their privilege and their decision, but I made the decision in my own mind that I would quit the Communist Party and lead my own life.

I attempted to do this by breaking my contact in the underground, but the people who were in contact with me did not accept that breaking but pursued me almost within a week of the time that I was arrested. They came and called on me; they tried to convince me that I had to go to meetings, and they tried to reactivate me. They put it that they were trying to help me, but what they were trying to help me do was to get back into the full swing of the Communist Party. I am certain that they were not trying to help me solve my problems.

Mr. CLARDY. They never are interested in the individual's personal problems, anyway, are they, except as they further the interests of the Communist Party as a whole?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is true.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Hartle has mentioned breaking contact.

I wonder if we could have something of an elaboration on what you meant by breaking contact. Was this actually involving personalities with which you were in contact?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, sir. Breaking contact meant missing a meeting, a prearranged meeting with someone; and anyone that broke the contact was supposed to make it, of course, a week later, or something like that.

Well, I didn't make mine at all, and the Communist Party knew that I had deliberately broken the contact.

Then, to answer the question further, after I was arrested under the Smith Act, I had no intentions of rejoining the Communist Party or resuming my activity as a Communist. I did decide, though, still under Communist influence, that I would go through with the trial; that I would take whatever sentence I got—and I was objective enough to realize that I would get one—and serve whatever sentence I had, and then to come out and live my own life.

What made me decide to go to the FBI was that the Communist Party was not satisfied with even that and harassed me and pursued me to the point that I saw for the first time, clearly, since I had been a member, what the Communist Party really is—that it is not for freedom and democracy and peace and security, but that it is an organization of highly disciplined—and I said to myself, "It must have a different purpose than I have believed," and I was able to see what so many people can see readily—that the Communist Party is not for the purpose of serving the best interests of our country or our people or even our working class, if you want to use that term, but that it is



a highly disciplined organization that puts Soviet Russia and world communism first.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Hartle, did I understand you to say that that was the first time that you discovered that the Communist Party in America was not for freedom and peace? Did I understand you to say that?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you discover that?

Mrs. HARTLE. I discovered that about 2 days before I went to the FBI.

Mr. DOYLE. What caused you to discover it at that time, finally?

Mrs. HARTLE. I discovered it then because I could not understand this harassment of me—people coming to me morning, noon, and night and pressuring me to carry on more activity—do this, do that; speak here; you have got to speak as a Communist; you have got to get active; we are trying to help you, and we want to take up your problems and discuss them.

And I finally realized that what was being done to me was just really high pressure to stay in the Communist Party and act like one and be one—against my wishes, which were made abundantly clear.

Mr. DOYLE. How did you get your support, your livelihood, during the time that you were underground? Who paid it?

Mrs. HARTLE. I received some funds from the Communist Party—\$200 or \$300, but I worked in restaurants and other places and earned my living.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I don't wish to interrupt your trend of thought at this moment, but I think there is something that we might well go into here since we were just talking about the Smith Act trial and you are here testifying, giving us the benefit of your background and Communist activity.

I want to ask you, is there any general directive or setup in the Communist Party that tells a Communist how to appear before a congressional committee or how he is supposed to behave in a court trial? Could you give us the benefit of your knowledge on that subject?

Mrs. HARTLE. There has been considerable material written about that from time to time in Communist Party literature. I do remember specifically a document that was circulated during the trial or just before it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you mean your trial now?

Mrs. HARTLE. My trial—which gave a general directive that it was necessary not to water down basic principles in the trial in an attempt to secure acquittals.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is the courtroom or a hearing room supposed to be used as a propaganda medium for carrying forth the Communist Party line?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. That I have always understood, and that has always been the proper attitude of a Communist in a court or any place else—is always to be a Communist first.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were any instructions given along the line of not contradicting earlier statements of other Communists?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that was contained in some remarks made by a Communist leader.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain that just a little bit, please?



Mrs. HARTLE. It was pointed out that testimony given in the Seattle Smith Act trial should not contradict testimony given by other Smith Act defendants in other Smith Act trials.

Mr. KUNZIG. What do the Communists mean when they warn someone against "legalism"?

Mrs. HARTLE. "Legalism," according to the Communist Party, is to have reliance on the courts, to rely on an attorney's ability as an attorney, instead of relying on mass pressure and on winning the point politically instead of legally.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, as a Communist, you are not supposed to rely on receiving justice in the courts? Is that the line that is given out?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is certainly correct. They are bourgeois courts that have no justice for workers, according to the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Yet at the same time they avail themselves of every technicality and move that can be made to obstruct and delay and, if possible, stop the trial?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is in the realm of tactics; that is considered good tactics.

Mr. CLARDY. You appear in court, you make your appearance, but you use it as a forum to get Communist propaganda across?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; if you are acting properly as a Communist that is what you will do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is a defendant in a Smith Act trial supposed to subordinate his own interests to the interests of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. He must do so to be a Communist in any kind of standing.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that even when a defendant in a trial before the courts of justice of the United States, there is still no freedom for a Communist to do or say what he thinks?

Mrs. HARTLE. Absolutely not.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question?

Does that go to the point of giving perjured testimony, if necessary? In other words, does that go to the point of giving false testimony?

Mrs. HARTLE. I know of no concrete example for or against that.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you yield, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You did say, however, a few moments ago, Witness, that the testimony in a current Smith Act trial must not differ with testimony given at a previous trial. Didn't you say that?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right. I said that; yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Wouldn't that indicate, if that took place, that there must be perjury somewhere along the line, as Mr. Doyle indicated?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, the reason I hesitated to say "perjury," is that I am not an attorney myself, and I don't know whether it would or wouldn't involve perjury.

Mr. SCHERER. It has to conform to the previous testimony whether it is true or false, does it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. That point was made—that different witnesses in different trials shouldn't be testifying differently about books, in order not to have contradictions in the testimony. Now if that adds up to perjury, I have no objections to it. I presume in some cases it certainly would.

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Hartle, if a Communist committed perjury and got caught at it, it would be bad for the Communist cause, would it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I think that would be a fair statement.

Mr. VELDE. How about the instructions relative to using our constitutional amendments to avoid answering questions? Do you have any knowledge of any instructions that are given by the Communist Party along that line.

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, my understanding of that is that in that kind of cases, it is to avoid perjury.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask one further question, Mrs. Hartle?

I think your almost exact language in your own direct testimony on the point that I raised was as follows:

It was impressed upon us that testimony given in the Seattle Smith Act trial must not contradict testimony given in previous Smith Act trials.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Now who impressed that upon you?

Mrs. HARTLE. Such a remark—such an analysis was given by Henry Huff, who was chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Am I to understand that none of the attorneys for the Smith Act defendants ever undertook to impress that upon you?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; none of the attorneys did.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I want to inform the committee so that they know this fact: It is my understanding that during the time you have been here in prison these last few weeks, you have been searching your mind and your memory, making notes to the best of your ability, so that you could give the committee the sum total of your knowledge, to the best of your ability, about Communist activities; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And I am sure that the committee has no objection if Mrs. Hartle makes use of her notes.

It that all right, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, that is all right.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, before we proceed to another subject, may I ask another question?

Mr. VELDE. You may.

Mr. SCHERER. You mentioned a short time ago in your testimony, Mrs. Hartle, that you broke contact. Was that the first time that the Communist Party knew that you had decided to leave it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I believe that is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Now you explained what breaking contact meant. What was the specific contact that you broke? Do you recall?

Mrs. HARTLE. A meeting. I just didn't go to a meeting that I was supposed to go to with someone.

Mr. SCHERER. A meeting of the underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. A meeting with another person in the underground.

Mr. SCHERER. Was it to convey any information to that person at that particular time?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, just to keep contact, so that everyone would know where you were and where they could reach you when it became necessary.

Mr. SCHERER. That contact wasn't with reference to any specific project or the passing of any specific information, was it?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. Although information was passed and literature was passed, and matters were taken up. But I broke the contact, which meant to the person with whom I broke it that I was failing in my responsibilities.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, right along that same line, isn't it true that the Communist Party requires its members to devote practically every hour of the day to furthering the cause of the party one way or another?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party attempts to activize its members to give their time, energy, finances, and any other ability to Communist Party work; especially for a full-time organizer, as I was, it certainly meant that.

Mr. CLARDY. In the event that you falter or fail, even insofar as a single meeting is concerned, does that not result in your being disciplined if you still remain in the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. There has to be a good explanation of why you were absent from a meeting, yes.

Mr. CLARDY. In your case, however, the single instance of your not going back again was enough to tell them that you had broken contact? Is that what you were trying to tell us?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, and then I did break other meetings after that, where I definitely had promised that I would be there without fail and then didn't appear.

Mr. CLARDY. The point that I was trying to understand clearly was that unless you do dedicate all your waking hours and maybe your sleeping ones, too, to the interests of the party, that is taken by the leadership of the party as a sign that you are a backslider and are not to be trusted?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. That is true especially for the older members and the longer time members. A softer policy is pursued toward newer members. They are what you call sort of led into this intense activity.

Mr. CLARDY. Once you are thoroughly indoctrinated and brought all the way into the inner circle, though, they will tolerate no monkey business, will they?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't know what line of questioning counsel is about to embark upon, but I would suggest that if he is approaching the point where there are going to be brought into the testimony the names of individuals that it be understood as between counsel, witness, and committee members that in all instances where names are given that they be given with the understanding on the part of the witness that they are persons known personally to her to have been members of the Communist Party, either by (1) attendance at



closed meetings of the Communist Party, (2) personal knowledge on the part of the witness as to a membership card in the Communist Party, (3) personal knowledge of the payment of dues in the Communist Party or personal knowledge on the part of the witness as to specific Communist Party activities carried out by the individuals so named.

Is that understood?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. So that it will not be necessary for the committee in each instance to inquire as to your personal knowledge of the individual you name.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. The persons I name will definitely be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. Within your own personal knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. May I make a further suggestion, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Since I understand she has a lengthy list, would it expedite it if some of the details as to address and other things be furnished in the form of a statement subsequent to the appearance on the stand and incorporated in the record at the proper place so that we won't waste too much time on that?

Mr. VELDE. I think that is an excellent idea. However, I think we should go into executive session and discuss that problem, depending upon how this situation develops.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I suggest that the very fine premise laid down by Committee Member Jackson regarding the testimony of Mrs. Hartle be also agreed to as the fundamental premise for all witnesses who appear before this committee, even though you Mr. Chairman, may have to remind the other witnesses of it?

Let us agree now that the statement made by Committee Member Jackson will also apply to every witness, insofar as the witness naming any persons is concerned.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. Without objection, I think we will proceed along that line.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I was going to ask you to look into your notes and jottings where you discuss the importance of lawyers to the Communist Party—the legal end of the Communist Party; we were on that point a few moments ago.

What particular importance, if any, is the legal field to the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I would say that the Communist Party has paid attention to and made inroads into various professional fields, but that the legal field has been particularly important to it. Sympathetic attorneys of Communist Party members who are attorneys, and who could practice law, have more than a united-front kind of service to give to the Communist Party. As I see it, they are an indispensable part of the Communist Party's functioning, at least in our country today, and during the time that I was in the Communist Party.

What this concerns is not only the Communist Party's ability to function in a mass way but its ability to function at all. I have in mind if the Communist Party wants to pursue a project, sometimes



it is necessary to have legal aid in order to be able to pursue the project. This might not be the case in other fields of mass work or professional work.

But it is sort of indispensable to the Communist Party—some type of legal aid for its functioning.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you heard any discussions about this problem in any district board meetings, for example?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I have heard discussions to the effect that more efforts have to be made to find attorneys in Seattle who will take civil-rights cases, and I have heard reports from Henry Huff on returning from national headquarters of the Communist Party that there had been problems with attorneys in the Foley Square trial.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you say the Foley Square trial, do you mean the original trial of the 11 Communists?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes—and in pointing out that it is difficult to find attorneys who can fight along the Communist line and who do not resort to technicalities in attempts to win the cases.

One of the features of the Communist Party is to have a distrust of the political ability of attorneys, and this has been especially a feature of Communist analysis since the reconstitution of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain at this point what you mean by the reconstitution of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party of the United States was disbanded under Earl Browder's leadership in 1944 and a Communist Political Association was set up by the same people—almost all the same—not with Earl Browder, though, when the party was reconstituted in 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now you were speaking about attorneys. Are you suggesting that attorneys are put in the position of accepting the spurious political leadership of Communist Party leaders if they do accept that leadership?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is the case. From the Communist point of view, the better the attorney, the closer he follows the Communist Party line and the less he relies on sound legal arguments or any kind of legal arguments.

Now it would be incorrect to say that the Communist Party doesn't expect attorneys to find legal arguments to bolster the case, but when these legal arguments contradict or are in clash with the Communist Party line, the legal arguments have to go out the window and the Communist Party line has to prevail.

Mr. KUNZIG. You saw this system in operation in your own trial, did you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it was done.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any knowledge about the work of the National Lawyers' Guild from the Communist Party standpoint?

Mrs. HARTLE. I understood that work in the National Lawyers' Guild by Communist Party members as being the same type of work that a Communist Party members would do in a labor union or in any other mass organization of people. Being in the legal field, much of the effort there by Communists would revolve around combating legislation that would restrict the Communist Party in any way.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think at this point, Mr. Chairman, we should again reiterate what has already been said on the record, and that is that

Mrs. Hartle has been giving testimony from the standpoint of what she learned in the Communist Party, and no inference should be taken against any lawyers who appear in this hearing, as you have already stated.

Mr. VELDE. That is a very good observation, of course.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would now like to turn to the subject of youth in the Communist Party.

I believe you have gone into that problem, and I wish you would give us the benefit of your knowledge now on the position of youth and communism.

You may take time, if you wish, to find your notes. I know you have a great deal of information there.

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party's position on youth is that the youth field is very important, that the coming generation of Communists, of course, comes from the youth, just as all other coming generations come from them. But the Communist Party attaches a special importance to youth because they say that when young people join the party and learn Marxism and Leninism that they will have more enthusiasm and more energy to give the party than when a middle aged or older person is recruited into the party. And I have heard it said in Communist Party circles that when a young person is brought forward as an organizer, he will last longer than an older person will, which I used to think was quite a crass way of putting the question, until I became more indoctrinated and was so certain that the Communist Party was right that I felt that it was entitled to take that kind of an attitude.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us the names of any members, as has been explained by Mr. Jackson, of the Communist Party who were active in the youth commission, in working with you?

Mrs. HARTLE. At the time that I was given the district board assignment to head youth work—

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly, when would that have been?

Mrs. HARTLE. About 1949 and 1950, the last year that I was in Seattle—a youth committee was set up, which I worked with, controlled, and guided all of its activities and tried to train the youth along Communist Party lines; and on that youth committee I remember a young man named Al Cumming—Robert Krahl, Calvin Harris.

I haven't found my notes yet. They are quite extensive.

Those are some that I can remember being on that youth committee, at this moment.

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Hartle, I wonder if you could give us a little more positive identification, such as their occupations or their addresses or their background?

Mrs. HARTLE. Al Cumming was a young man in a marine radio union. I don't know the exact name of the union. He was in the waterfront section of the Communist Party and was assigned by the waterfront to the youth commission.

Robert Krahl had a similar background—the same union, in the waterfront section.

Calvin Harris was a young Negro man who was quite young and, as far as I know, he didn't have any particular trade background and lived in the south part of King County and was assigned by the south King region of the Communist Party to the youth committee.

Another person who was assigned to the committee was a young man from the central King County region of the Communist Party, John Healey. He was in one or another of the building trades.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a George Starkovich?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. George Starkovich was on that committee. He was a member of a lumber union in Bellingham.

Mr. KUNZIG. And any person by the name of Dortha Bowen?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that name?

Mrs. HARTLE. D-o-r-t-h-a B-o-w-e-n.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did she have anything to do with the Labor Youth League?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; she was assigned by the youth commission under my direction to take leadership and officership in the Labor Youth League.

Mr. VELDE. Now, as I understand it, Mrs. Hartle, these folks you have just mentioned were all members of the Labor Youth League and likewise members of the Communist Party or on the youth committee of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Most of the members of the youth committee of the Communist Party were also members of the Labor Youth League. In a case where a youth committee member was not a member of the Labor Youth League, it was because he was carrying on Communist youth work in some other organization, like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or he might have been sufficiently involved in University of Washington youth-organization work that it was not considered feasible for him to organizationally be also a member of the Labor Youth League. But that was not a matter of principle; it was a matter of assignment.

Mr. VELDE. I should like to state at this time that the Labor Youth League has been cited by the Attorney General and by this committee, I believe, as being a Communist organization. It is the successor to the American Youth for Democracy, which in turn succeeded the Young Communist League.

Is that correct, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. Each of those organizations have been sponsored by the Communist Party at different periods.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. To what extent does the Communist Party direct or supervise or control the Labor Youth League?

Mr. HARTLE. In Seattle, when I was assigned by the district board to youth work, the Communist Party completely guided or dominated the work of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. JACKSON. It is very interesting to have that comment, and I hope it will be brought home to some of the university officials throughout the country who still tolerate the Labor Youth League on their campuses.

Mr. CLARDY. That applies with special force to Michigan, where we just had hearings, as you know.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, did you have occasion in your youth work to know a Carl Harvey Jackins?



Mrs. HARTLE. I knew of Harvey Jackins as being involved in Communist youth work some years ago.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, this is Carl Harvey Jackins, of 6753 32d Avenue, NW., Seattle. We have already had two other identifications in executive session of this Mr. Jackins as a member of the Communist Party.

Now is there any other information that you can give the committee, Mrs. Hartle, on the task of the youth commission in reviving and building up this Labor Youth League?

Mr. HARTLE. The youth commission, under my leadership, at that time made the decision—and this, of course, followed national Communist policy—that the Labor Youth League must be built and organized and get as many affiliates as possible. There was already a small Labor Youth League, but in my work with the youth committee the attempt was to revive the Labor Youth League, to draw many, many youths into it, to get a number of youth organizations, already in existence, to affiliate with it or have some kind of relations with it and thereby to build the Labor Youth League.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. You used a phrase as you went along there that this, of course, was in line with the Communist Party line or doctrine.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you enlarge on that? Was there any deviation permitted by any of these front organizations from the standard Communist Party line?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. When a deviation develops in a front organization, the Communist Party immediately sets about to correct it, and this can be done in any number of ways; but if it really is a front organization and the Communist Party controls it, that deviator will be thrown out or those deviating policies will be corrected.

Mr. CLARDY. Then when they prate about this committee and others suppressing freedom of thought and freedom of speech, they really are the ones who are demanding complete conformity right down the line, aren't they?

Mrs. HARTLE. They are past masters, and I would say, in that sense come closer to being scientific than in any other sense.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, do you recall a Blaine Peace Arch peace demonstration early in 1950?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I remember that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you discuss that with the committee and tell the committee what the Communist Party had to do with it?

Mrs. HARTLE. That Blaine Peace Arch Park peace demonstration was organized through the efforts of the Labor Youth League and through the efforts of members of the Communist Party youth commission, who were active in other fields of work. That whole project was directed and guided and organized under my leadership, and when the demonstration was held, the whole Communist Party mobilized to bring people out to it and to support it.

Mr. DOYLE. When was that, please, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe it was in the early part of 1950.

Mr. DOYLE. Here in Seattle?



Mrs. HARTLE. No, at Blaine, at the peace arch park on the border between here and Canada.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to turn to another subject, another person, Mrs. Hartle, and ask you if you at any time knew a Philip Luther—I believe it is pronounced Ceis, C-e-i-s as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. This Mr. Ceis, I believe, is a building contractor, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. From Seattle here?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee, from your own personal knowledge—of course we are only interested, as Mr. Jackson has said, in your own personal knowledge about these people—whether Philip Ceis was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I first knew Phil Ceis as a Communist Party member, who was at that time in youth work, in about 1942 and 1943, when I first came to Seattle, and it was at that time that the Communist Party youth setup was the Young Communist League.

I have been with Phil Ceis in a number of Communist Party and also Communist Political Association functionaries' meetings, many of which have been held at Communist Party headquarters at 304 Marion Street—also at other places.

The next that I remember about Mr. Ceis is that Ed Alexander—

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was Ed Alexander?

Mrs. HARTLE. A district official of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mrs. HARTLE. In Seattle—discussing with me that he planned to have Ceis teach dialectical and historical materialism in a Communist Party school. I remember quizzing Alexander as to Ceis' ability to teach this very deep subject, and I was assured by Alexander that Ceis was fully capable. This was in about 1944.

Later I knew Ceis as a member of the Alki branch in the West Seattle section in 1948 and 1949, and I have attended several of his branch meetings with him during that period.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any personal discussion with Ceis on the subject of communism?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did. After the reconstitution of the Communist Party, I remember sitting in a house on Beacon Hill in the drawing room and discussing with Mr. Ceis about Earl Browder, and at that time Mr. Ceis told me that he thought that Earl Browder's opinions on what the Communist movement should be in the United States were more correct than those of William Z. Foster and others—the ones really at the head of the Communist Party.

This, of course, would be on Ceis' part called "Browderism." However, Ceis did not drop his membership in the Communist Party and later there were several discussions among district leaders, including Huff, Van Lydegraf and Ralph Hall, to the effect that Ceis was not overcoming his Browderism.

In about 1949, when a member was about to be expelled upon district insistence in the Alki branch of the Communist Party to which Mr. Ceis belonged, he again expressed his disagreement with the dis-

trict leadership. He opposed very strongly the highhanded method of the district in trying to throw Margaret Haglund——

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that name?

Mrs. HARTLE. H-a-g-l-u-n-d.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was Margaret Haglund?

Mrs. HARTLE. Margaret Haglund was a member of the Alki branch of the Communist Party who, after the reconstitution, disagreed with the Communist Party—expressed her disagreement and was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. What further happened at this meeting you were discussing?

Mrs. HARTLE. Ceis and Hall got into a very heated argument, Hall expressing the opinions of the district that Margaret Haglund had strayed way off the path and ought to be expelled and Ceis taking the opinion that this was a pretty undemocratic and high-handed procedure and protesting it.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean that sometimes democratic procedures get discussed even in Communist meetings, is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. In this sort of fashion, they do sometimes; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Discussing them is about as far as it is carried, though, isn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. It is not usually discussed in a very gentle manner. This was quite a heated discussion.

Mr. CLARDY. I mean they do not follow those practices; they merely talk about them.

Mrs. HARTLE. They do talk about them quite a bit. That will serve to fool many people and did serve to fool me. A wiser person would not have been fooled, no doubt.

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, by talking about things of that kind and by using language that will appeal, a great many people who ought to know better are sucked into the movement and aid the cause sometimes without even knowing it. Would you say that is a fair statement?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is true. That is a very fair statement.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, when was the last time that you attended any branch meetings or any other activity in the Communist Party with Phil Ceis?

Mrs. HARTLE. The last branch meeting that I can remember attending with him was probably in 1948 or early 1949.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Hartle, I am not sure that I have heard you testify yet that any of these branch meetings, or meetings where you were with this man Ceis, were closed Communist meetings. Would the public have been admitted if they were invited? In other words, non-Communists—would they have been admitted to these meetings that you attended with this man?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; they would not have been present at a branch meeting.

It is possible to invite a visitor to a branch meeting, provided that that visitor's name is brought up in advance and it is fully explained what he is there for; but most of the branch meetings—I would say 99 or 99½ percent of the branch meetings do not have a visitor there and have not had for 10 years.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, you knew definitely that Phil Ceis was a member of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I knew definitely. I have discussed his membership with him; I have seen him pay dues, and I know that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. In general, Mrs. Hartle, you are proceeding, are you not, as was stipulated earlier with reference to all of these people?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is true.

Mr. CLARDY. Coming back to the closed-meeting angle, even when someone who is not already a member of the Communist Party may be admitted, is it not true that that person must at least be in sympathy with or at least a prospect for membership or there will be no Communist business discussed while that person is present?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I would say that the only visitor I know of at a Communist Party branch meeting is a definite prospect, and in these latter years the prospects haven't even gotten to the meeting ahead of time.

Mr. JACKSON. That is to say, the Communist Party never, of course, invites the bureau chief of the FBI in to discuss tactics?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; they never do.

Mr. CLARDY. It is only those of us who believe in our form of government that allow that sort of thing to happen, isn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. We will let Communists in to our meetings—allow people in who disagree with us so that we might convert them, but the Communists don't work that way, do they?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; they don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, you mentioned dues paying. Would you tell the committee what your knowledge is about Ceis paying dues and how much, if you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe that the last dues that he paid were dues of \$2 a month, the highest category.

Mr. VELDE. You say that was in the high category?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. The dues ranged from 35 cents up to \$2 a month, and I think in some cases \$5 a month, if the income is high enough. The dues are small in the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. You are not including any special assessments in that, are you?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; I am not including financial contributions. They are high.

Mr. KUNZIG. I was just about to ask you, Mrs. Hartle, if you know of any special contributed sums by Phil Ceis?

Mrs. HARTLE. I have known Phil Ceis to contribute sums of \$100 and \$200 to various Communist Party and Communist Party press fund drives. Such drives take place about twice a year, as best I can remember, he contributed some such sum to all those drives.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, what do you mean when you talk about Communist Party press?

Mrs. HARTLE. I mean the press that is controlled by the Communist Party, circulated by it, and its policies and contents of its paper are controlled by the Communist Party, like the People's World, Northwest edition, which was circulated here.

Mr. KUNZIG. For example, the Daily Worker, on the east coast, and so forth?



Mrs. HARTLE. The Daily Worker and Political Affairs.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know a Bob Camozzi? Did you ever know anybody by that name?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his activity in the party, and identify him further, if you can.

Mrs. HARTLE. I remember Bob Camozzi as a section organizer of a North End section of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Marion Camozzi?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was she?

Mrs. HARTLE. She has been manager of the Frontier Book Store, in Seattle, from about 1943 up to the present time, as far as I know.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was she at any time related to Robert Camozzi?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. She was his wife some time ago.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is her present name?

Mrs. HARTLE. Kinnëy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you mean Marion Camozzi Kinney?

Mrs. HARTLE. Correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. What present employment does Robert Camozzi have, if it lies within your knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was last given the impression that he was working for the circulation department of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, we were just discussing Marion Camozzi Kinney, and I would like to go into detail about the Communist Party book store.

However, Mr. Chairman, I note that it is 10:30 and I respectfully request that a recess be taken at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, a recess will be ordered and the committee will stand in recess until 10:45.

(Whereupon, at 10:30 a. m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 10:45 a. m.)

(Whereupon, at 10:45 a. m., the hearing was reconvened.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

I should like to just mention this remark in passing. Today is Flag Day. The fact that we are holding these hearings here in Seattle today is only coincidental to Flag Day, but I am sure that we will all appreciate and show respect today to the greatest flag in the world and to all that it stands for.

Now there has been some question which has come up concerning the identity of one of the witnesses who was mentioned by Mrs. Hartle and I will ask counsel to clear that matter up right now so that there may be no mistake in identity.

You may proceed, counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, you mentioned an Alvin Cumming this morning in your testimony. There is also, as I understand it, an Allen Cummings, who works for King Broadcasting Co. They are two different, separate persons, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, they are two separate persons.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you did not, in any way, identify Allen Cummings of King Broadcasting Co.?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I did not.

Mr. VELDE. May I say this in that regard? Should it come up in the future during these hearings that common names such as that—



that is, I don't mean, necessarily, to say that they are common names but rather names that many people have—are mentioned, if the person who is injured thereby will call the committee counsel or a member of the committee staff, we certainly will do everything we can to clear up the matter as soon as possible.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I don't think it would hurt to again emphasize that if any of those persons who are identified as Communists desire to present themselves, we would welcome them also.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly. That is very true. I am glad that the gentleman from Michigan made that observation.

Mr. JACKSON. Unless they want to come in and take the fifth amendment. But I think the import of the words of the gentleman from Michigan is that if anyone named as a member of the Communist Party desires to come in and deny the allegation, the committee, in line with past procedures, would be very happy to have such a denial.

However, I, for one, do not feel constrained to sit here and take abuse from someone who wants to come in and use the committee as a sounding board without making an affirmation or a denial of the allegation.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes, that is what I had in mind.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, at the recess we closed with your testimony concerning Marion Camozzi Kinney, connected with the Communist Party bookstore, whom you said you knew to be a member of the Communist Party. Would you now go into detail and tell us about the Communist Party bookstore, how bookstores work, and how members are asked to set up a bookstore?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party bookstores, such as the Workers Book Store in Spokane and the Frontier Book Store in Seattle are an integral part of the Communist Party apparatus.

The Workers Book Store in Spokane, of which I was the manager for about a year and a half in 1937–38, was under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party of Spokane. I was selected as manager of the bookstore by the district organizer then, Morris Rappaport, and the books and papers that were sold in the store and circulated through the Communist Party literature department were determined by the Communist Party and by no one else.

The Frontier Book Store in Seattle, from the time I came to Seattle in 1942, until I left in 1950, was under the direct control of the district board and district committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now you have already testified that at one period you yourself had a rather profitable little store of your own, which you gave up. Would you explain how and why you gave up your own store to take on a questionably profitable one, if it was? Tell us about the Communist bookstore.

Mrs. HARTLE. I did have a bookstore of my own and I liked it very much. I had been able to build it up into the second largest circulating library in Spokane and was very happy with it. However, the district organizer said to me, "You don't want to be a businesswoman, do you?" And, thinking that I wanted to be a Communist and I couldn't very well be a businesswoman, too, I sold my bookstore, against my better judgment and against my real desires.

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Frazier, of Tennessee.

Mr. FRAZIER. I would like to ask a question of the witness.

Tell us, if you will, the purposes that the Communist bookstores are used for? Is it for the purpose of disseminating communistic literature?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is the purpose of the Communist bookstore. The main and central purpose is for the circulation and sale of Communist Party literature and literature that the Communist Party wants to see circulated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue with your testimony about the Communist Party bookstore? When did Marion Kinney take over?

Mrs. HARTLE. Marion Kinney became the manager of the Frontier Book Store in 1943. I remember that Phil Frankfeld was district organizer in this district at that time and that it was under his choice that Marion Kinney became the manager of the Frontier Book Store; and she has been the manager ever since that time, up to when I left Seattle in 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. And who was Phil Frankfeld, whose name you just mentioned a moment ago?

Mrs. HARTLE. Phil Frankfeld was then district organizer of this Northwest district for the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any identification other than that—address or anything of that nature?

Mrs. HARTLE. Phil Frankfeld came to this district from the East, and then in about 1944 he was drafted into the Armed Forces; and after he came back out of the Armed Forces he became the district organizer in Maryland.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, did the bookstore carry on any Communist-front activities other than what you have already stated?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; the Frontier Book Store did. It attempted to get certain types of literature into certain kinds of organizations. It would try to have literature that would appeal to labor-union people; it would try to get that into their meetings or try to mail it to them; and it would try to get literature, Communist literature, on the Negro question in one way or another and then would attempt to sell it or distribute it or mail it to Negro people who might be interested in it, and in that way did carry on front activities with the literature.

Mr. KUNZIG. Speaking of this literature, who was the editor of the Northwest edition of the People's World?

Mrs. HARTLE. Terry Pettus.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him to be a member of the Communist Party, did you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who succeeded him?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was succeeded, I am told, by—I cannot remember the name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know a Will Parry to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that was the name I am trying to think of. I understand that he succeeded him as editor of the People's World.

Mr. CLARDY. Maybe counsel can answer that.

She mentioned the name of Mr. Pettus. Do you have any information as to whether or not he has been one of the Smith Act defendants somewhere along the way?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was one of my codefendants in the Smith Act trial here.

Mr. CLARDY. That was my recollection.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his first name?

Mrs. HARTLE. Terry, T-e-r-r-y.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know, of your own knowledge, Will Parry to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give us further identification, if you can, about Will Parry?

Mrs. HARTLE. Will Parry was a reporter on the People's World, Northwest edition, during the period before I left Seattle. He was a member of a branch in the Rainier Valley area while I was regional organizer of south King County.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know a Jean Danielson, now known as Jean Danielson Schuddakopf?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any further identification of this woman?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was a member of the Communist Party in the north King region or area of the Communist Party. I have met with her in regard to Communist work among women.

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time was that, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. In about the middle 1940's. I do not remember the specific year, but I met with her several times in about 1946-47.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her definitely to be a member, at that time at least, of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now did you ever know anyone by the name of Eugene V. Dennett?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Mr. Dennett to be active in the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give us any further testimony that you can about Eugene V. Dennett?

Mrs. HARTLE. I had seen Eugene V. Dennett in large district committee meetings in the late 1930's and I knew him then as a member of the district committee. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party after I came to Seattle and have been in functionaries' meetings of this area with him. One of the positions that I remember him in was as chairman of the Steel Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. May I interrupt, counsel, to ask a question here regarding Mrs. Schuddakopf?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. How did you know that she was a member of the Communist Party? Did you happen to sit in at closed meetings with her?

Mrs. HARTLE. She discussed women's commission work of the Communist Party with me on the basis of she and I both being members of the Communist Party. We discussed nothing else but the Communist Party.



Mr. VELDE. From that knowledge then you would say definitely that she was a member; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. And from other information as well. I knew her well to be a member of the Communist Party—from meetings, functionaries' meetings, from seeing her name on registration lists.

Mr. VELDE. Then you did attend functionaries' meetings, which would be closed Communist Party meetings, with her?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right; yes.

Mr. VELDE. In any of these identifications, Mr. Counsel, I think it might be wise to find out the source of the knowledge Mrs. Hartle has concerning their Communist Party membership, if it is possible.

Mr. KUNZIG. Very well.

Now, Mrs. Hartle, we were talking about Eugene V. Dennett, and I believe he is going to tie up with the subject of Trotskyism.

Would you explain to the committee what Trotskyism is and give us the full benefit of your knowledge on Trotskyism and on the Socialist Workers Party, tying it in, if you can, with Eugene V. Dennett?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. Stalin has defined Trotskyism as the theoretical vanguard of the counterrevolution, and I was taught this definition in 1937 at a 6-week fulltime training school of the Communist Party that I attended here in Seattle, although I was in Spokane at that time. I came here as a student to go to this 6-week school in 1937.

Upon first joining the Communist Party, I was informed by the Spokane section leadership, by J. H. Van Orman, section organizer, and others, that the Trotskyites, that is, the Socialist Workers' Party and its members, were about the worst enemy of the Communist Party, with the possible exception of law-enforcement authorities; and this was told to me in a very intense fashion. I was told that Communists do not speak with Trotskyites, they do not argue with them, they do not read their literature; and I was quite puzzled by that at the time, as I know were other new members. I remember discussing it with other new members at the time—as to why there was such an intense hatred of the Trotskyites and why there was such a taboo against Trotskyism, without any seemingly convincing arguments to us then as new members.

However, through constant repetition by the district leaders and through reading different kinds of material which did seem to have some arguments, I finally accepted the position that the Trotskyites and Trotskyism are supreme enemies of the Communist Party. It did take quite a lot of study and quite a lot of convincing for me to arrive at that kind of Communist understanding.

After awhile, I was able to develop some arguments on this subject from this material, and the main arguments that I used in explaining the Socialist Workers' Party were that the Socialist Workers' Party or Trotskyites attacked the Communist Party from the left—the left-wing side of politics, if you please. I also taught that the Trotskyites confused the workers and others who were almost ready for the Communist Party; and I also taught that through the sectariat, the narrow presentation of Marxism and Leninism—not Stalinism—that the Trotskyites put the party in a bad light, generally.

These were some of the arguments that I finally learned and used in trying to convince people in the Communist Party that Trotskyism was very bad.

Mr. CLARBY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire, sir?



Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, actually the only difference, however, is in the personality of Trotsky and Stalin, isn't it? In other words, they were both Communists; they were both advocating and teaching and fighting for communism but each one wanted to be the big shot—the top dog, in other words? Is that not true?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true. Material that I have seen and what I have been told in the Communist Party is that the Trotskyites support Lenin and Marx and Engels but not Stalin. The Socialist Workers' Party fights Stalin.

I heard one definition one time of the Trotskyites by a leading Communist. He said, "When you find a person that is strong for socialism and hates Soviet Russia, you have probably got a Trotskyite."

Mr. CLARDY. Did the name of Jay Lovestone ever come into the discussions in connection with that?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not a great deal. As far as I can remember, Lovestone had become somewhat past history. I have studied about him in school, in a Communist school, as being a person who thought that some kind of a new era had arrived and that maybe all this class struggle and international conflict would no longer be necessary. But not a great deal was said about Lovestone at the time that I was in the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. There is no question about the fact that he had been an active practicing Communist but that he was probably of the third division, the other two already having been mentioned, is that not the fact?

Mrs. HARTLE. Lovestone, as I remember learning about him from the Communist Party, was a revisionist rather than a leftist or a Trotskyite.

Mr. CLARDY. Basically, however, he had been a member of the Communist Party and, basically, he was a Communist, was he not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party at one time.

Mrs. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you recall today, Mrs. Hartle, the names of any Communist Party members whom you knew were expelled from the Communist Party for Trotskyism or at least suspicions of Trotskyism?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I believe that I can remember several of those names. One of them was Eugene Dennett.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the man that you have already mentioned here, is it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. Another is Bill Long.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. As the chairman has previously requested, can you give us a little further identification as to how you knew him to be a member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him to be a member of the Communist Party through attending functionaries' meetings of the Seattle area with him and through seeing him at other Communist meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what his work was?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, as part of the foundation of material for identification, I suggest that if the witness knows when these Communists were expelled from the party and can give approximately the year that would be very helpful information.

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mrs. HARTLE. He was expelled about 1947.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what his work was or his employment?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was probably employed on the waterfront. I believe he was employed on the waterfront; I am not certain.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any other names that you can recall who were Communist Party members and expelled for Trotskyism?

Mrs. HARTLE. I might add, on him, that he lived in the Rainier Valley area of town—if that will help.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is Bill Long that you are talking about now, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Bill Long, yes—at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now are there any others?

Mrs. HARTLE. Another is Ruth Porter.

Mr. KUNZIG. Ruth Porter? Can you give us, as you have on the others, any further identification?

Mrs. HARTLE. Ruth Porter I had met with in functionaries' meetings of King County. I have had her in classes taught by me, Communist Party classes taught by me, and have discussed the Communist Party with her personally a number of times. I have known her well as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was she expelled, if you can recall?

Mrs. HARTLE. In about 1947.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others?

Mrs. HARTLE. Another is Foster Williams. Foster Williams I remember from functionaries' meeting of the King County Communist Party, and I remember him as a student in one of my classes held in a room at the rear of the Frontier Book Store, where he disagreed with me on some Communist theory. He was expelled about 1948 from the Communist Party for Trotskyite associations. He is a young Negro man. I do not know what his work was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you. Are there any others, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Another person who was expelled for Trotskyite associations was Irene Hull. I have known her as working with me on women's commission work of the Communist Party, being on a women's commission with me in the Communist Party. She was expelled also about 1947 because she was suspected strongly of being associated with Trotskyites.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any address or employment for this person?

Mrs. HARTLE. She lived in the central King area, which is not the north or the south but the center from the waterfront down to Lake Washington. She lived in the Madison area.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any other Communist Party members who were expelled for Trotskism whose names you recall?

Mrs. HARTLE. There are two others that I recall who were either expelled or dropped. One of those was Jesse Erickson, who was a member of the Communist Party in the West Seattle area. He is a Negro. He was an industrial worker and he was expelled shortly

after joining upon suspicions of being associated with the Trotskyites, about 1947, too.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question of the witness?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Hartle, you have, with reference to the last two identifications that you have given, used the phrase "because they associated with certain individuals." Does that imply that the Communist Party actually would expel an individual because of his associations?

Mrs. HARTLE. They certainly would in the case of Trotskyites, and have.

Mr. JACKSON. Isn't that quite inconsistent with the position they take, with reference to other individuals, some of whom have appeared before the committee, where the scream has gone up to high heaven that they were being maligned because of their associations?

Mrs. HARTLE. Is it inconsistent?

Mr. JACKSON. Isn't it somewhat inconsistent?

Mrs. HARTLE. It certainly is. I think it is extremely inconsistent.

Mr. JACKSON. As a matter of fact, it is only necessary to see a Communist conversing with someone outside the pale in order to have guilt by association brought very actively to the fore in the Communist Party, isn't that so?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is called vigilance.

Mr. JACKSON. But when the FBI or this committee does it, it's guilt by association?

Mrs. HARTLE. Presumably. It is called vigilance in the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. We call it vigilance on this committee, too.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire of the witness?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Tell us how these people were expelled. What was the procedure followed? Was there a hearing? If so, what kind of a hearing was it?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is a procedure for expulsion in the Communist Party. However, if you want the exact picture of what happened, it usually has to be gone at person by person. The procedure is to file charges and then to have a trial, and then to have a decision at the end of the trial, and then to inform the defendant, if you please, what the decision was. But there are many cases in the Communist Party when the member is so guilty that he is expelled forthwith, without a trial.

Mr. SCHERER. Who determines whether he is guilty, as you say?

Mrs. HARTLE. This is so well understood in the Communist Party that there will be no objections from anyone; it is completely understood.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean that he is expelled without a hearing when somebody in the hierarchy decides that there is sufficient evidence?

Mrs. HARTLE. Apparently so. If a member of the Communist Party were to appear before this committee and make statements that did not suit the Communist Party, he would be expelled forthwith, without a trial.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.



Mr. JACKSON. Is the accused or the defendant, as you called him, represented by counsel during these expulsion proceedings?

Mrs. HARTLE. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Is he permitted the right of cross-examination?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is some discussion. It is usually for the purpose of bringing out what else is wrong with him.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, he is permitted none of the privileges about which the Communist Party rants and raves when courts and congressional committees attempt to investigate the area of subversive activity?

Mrs. HARTLE. None.

Mr. SCHERER. You said that the Communist Party does have a procedure for expelling a person, did you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, there is a procedure.

Mr. SCHERER. But in some instances, as I understand your testimony, they completely ignore the procedure when the top brass feel that it isn't necessary?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it has been ignored. I know of instances where it has been ignored.

Mr. SCHERER. And no hearing is granted?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. And to a Communist it would be inconceivable to give a person a hearing after he had testified wrongly at a Canwell committee hearing; it would be inconceivable to grant him a trial—it is just understood that he has gone over to the enemy and there is no use wasting time with a trial—just expel him.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Would the word or phrase "kangaroo court" pretty well describe the process even when they do have a trial?

Mrs. HARTLE. Most of the time that is the case.

Mr. CLARDY. Do they ever permit the Communist on trial before them to employ the fifth amendment?

Mrs. HARTLE. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Or any other part of the Constitution of this country?

Mrs. HARTLE. No.

Mr. CLARDY. They demand and compel and get answers to every question that they put to him, do they not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. And if he refuses, what happens? Or does he ever refuse?

Mrs. HARTLE. He may refuse, but he is then expelled if he refuses.

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, summary judgment is meted out the moment that he attempts to invoke any of the rights they prate about so much when they come before us?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct. Refusal to come to a trial meeting will result in expulsion.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, this might be of interest to the committee and to the record in this testimony this morning. We have here a copy of the charges brought by the Communist Party, from a confidential informant to this committee, against Eugene Dennett, who was mentioned a few minutes earlier, and who has been subpoenaed to appear before this committee. I would like to pass this over to the witness and ask her if this isn't a typical sample of charges brought by the Communist Party in this type of instance against a Trotskyite?



(Document is handed to the witness for examination.)

Mr. VELDE. While the witness is looking over this particular document, I would like to make a very brief statement.

I have in my hand a leaflet or what is called a throwaway, which, I understand, is being circulated on the waterfront at the present time. It is a very vicious item, personally attacking me and attacking the committee generally for appearing here in Seattle today.

I would like to read just one statement that is made in this leaflet:

Now the reason I am putting out this leaflet is to ask you guys I work with to help me fight these rats.

meaning the Un-American Activities Committee.

If you are a member of the local, take the floor and urge the local to carry out the plan to stop work meetings while the Velde committee is here fouling up the air.

I would like to make this statement for the record and for the general public. The Committee on Un-American Activities is here in Seattle to investigate to determine whether or not there has been and presently is infiltration by the Communist Party or any other subversive organization into the various phases of our American life. We certainly do not want to interfere in any way with the legitimate union organizations; and, above all—and I am sure that the members will agree with me—we would very much regret to see a stop-work or strike called here in the great city of Seattle.

I want to assure you good members of this particular union that we are only interested in subversive activities that might destroy our form of government.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, don't you think it would be well to let the public here know that that is just a typical example of what we meet wherever we go in the conduct of the business of this committee?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the chairman certainly concurs with the gentleman from Michigan on that.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. You did not read the name of the person who signed that sheet to which you referred.

(At this point Mr. Velde conferred with Mr. Jackson and then with Mr. Doyle.)

Mr. DOYLE. I see. And you are informing me that you did not read it because that person has not yet been identified in these hearings as a member of the Communist Party. That of course is in line with our policy.

However, I wish to state, as a member of the committee, that I consider it a compliment to be included in the designation of a "rat" by the person who signs that sheet. It is all right with me if there is any American citizen who wants to call me a rat; it shows the degradation to which some Americans can go in support of the Communist philosophy.

I would like to meet the gentleman.

Mr. CLARDY. Why do you call him a gentleman?

Mr. DOYLE. I will give him the benefit of the doubt.

But that was on the Seattle waterfront, was it?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, Mr. Chairman, in view of your statement about this committee, I don't think we have specified yet in our record today,

for those who may see us or hear us, that this House Un-American Activities Committee was established under Public Law 601 way back in the 79th Congress, back in 1945, and that this subcommittee here today is not a special committee of Congress; it is one of the major committees of the United States Congress. It is an established committee of the House of Representatives. It is neither a stepchild nor any part of the United States Senate; it is a part of the House of Representatives.

I just felt that I ought to make that clear, because the Congress of course consists of the House and the Senate. This committee here today is a committee of the House. We have no connection with any other branch of the United States Congress.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask Mr. Doyle if it isn't a fact that actually this committee is a continuation of the old Dies committee that was organized in 1938, so that actually we have had a continual 15-year experience in dealing with these kind of people?

Mr. DOYLE. I don't think any of us were on the old Dies committee.

Mr. CLARDY. No.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure that none of us were, and this committee was set up in 1945.

Mr. CLARDY. The point I am making, Mr. Doyle, is this: That there has been a separate House committee for 15 years dealing with this problem. It has gone by this name since 1945 and other names prior to that.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, but this is the first House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee which has ever had a printed, designated set of rules and it is the first House Un-American Activities Committee that has ever existed where a person always has a right to counsel before the committee. I wish to distinguish the functions of this committee since I have been on it, at least, and you other gentlemen, as acting differently from most congressional committees in the field of investigation.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. During this interim I have taken the opportunity to read this document, and whether or not the gentleman has been identified previously, I personally have no hesitation in reading his name.

I might say that the order of his contempt is very low and much better has been done elsewhere.

His name appears to be Mel Kirkwood, and he identifies himself as a poolie in one of the unions.

I think the record should show positively that across the country, during the hearings which this committee has conducted heretofore, we have had splendid help and assistance and support from local unions in almost every field of industrial activity. That support has been very much appreciated by all of us, I am sure, and has gone a long way toward overcoming the sort of low-order contempt which is demonstrated by Mr. Kirkwood in his highly illiterate document.

I see no reason why his name should not be made known, not only to the members of his own union, but to everyone who may be within sound of the activities of this committee today. And so there is no mistake about it—the name is Mel Kirkwood, M-e-l K-i-r-k-w-o-o-d, and

his illiterate diatribe sounds like an editorial from the Communist Daily Worker.

Mr. VELDE. I might say to the gentleman from California that Mr. Kirkwood has been subpoenaed to appear before this committee, and we hope to clarify the issue further at that time.

Mr. JACKSON. The gentleman from California is delighted to hear it.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. There is one point that you did not make in connection with it, which I think the public ought to know. He is directing people who think like he does—and now I am quoting from the document, "Jam the place. Let these phony birds know the workers in this town don't like them." In other words, he is telling them to take over the hearing and do just as they have tried to do in a great many other places.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record should also show, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Kirkwood was subpoenaed long before the issuance of this document that has been discussed and he will have an opportunity to answer questions as to his own activities.

Mr. CLARDY. It is obvious that that is why he put out this diatribe.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The chair recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure that as long as we are discussing this yellow sheet—because it is yellow, in color—very appropriately—that it should be noted that he signed this personally, but he is evidently presuming to talk from some unit of organized labor, and I think it appropriate, Mr. Chairman, for us to say that we presume that it was written and circulated without the authority of his union. I am always supported by organized labor in my campaigns for reelection—that is, by the non-Communist group of both the A. F. of L. and the CIO—I am proud of it, but I think we ought to call upon the union and if they have any connection with this yellow sheet or in any way authorized it directly or indirectly, or if it is within their knowledge, that the union itself ought to get busy and take some action on this sort of thing.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair certainly concurs with the gentleman from California. However, I think we have too many witnesses called now. But if any member of this particular union desires to come forward and confer with our counsel, any information that he may have relative to the origin of this particular pamphlet will be appreciated by the committee.

Now may we proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Hartle, if you will just hold up discussion of this document that I have shown you that had to do with Eugene V. Dennett for a moment, I think we more appropriately at this moment might ask this question.

Did you ever know Melvin W. Kirkwood to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us about Mr. Kirkwood's activities? This is the same Mr. Kirkwood that we have just been discussing for the last 10 minutes.



Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in the North King County region of the Communist Party. I have attended King County Communist Party functionaries' meetings with him a number of times in this 3- or 4-year period before I left Seattle in 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he have any connection with the Pacific Northwest Labor School?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe he was one of the sponsors of the Pacific Northwest Labor School.

Mr. KUNZIG. And of your own personal knowledge you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Then Mr. Kirkwood's assessment of the work of the committee can hardly be termed objective in light of what the witness has had to say.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair certainly concurs in that observation.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, may I cite for the record that the Pacific Northwest Labor School was cited as a Communist group by Attorney General Howard McGrath in 1950?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you get into some description of that school a little later on?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; we intend to go into that in detail. I just wanted to get the identification of Mr. Kirkwood at this moment.

Now to come back, Mrs. Hartle, to the document you were examining a few moments ago, the charges against Eugene V. Dennett, have you ever seen these charges before?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I have read them before.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you identify them and testify about them to this committee at this time?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I could.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. That document that I just read was written and circulated by the Communist Party in relation to Eugene Dennett's expulsion from the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer this document into evidence as Barbara Hartle exhibit No. 1.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received and filed for the information of the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I should like to ask you to continue and finish the discussion and identifications you were giving. You mentioned that you knew of two others and you mentioned Jesse Erickson. Would you continue, please, with the others?

Mrs. HARTLE. Another short-time member of the Communist Party who was dropped because of suspicions of Trotskyite associations was Odell Lee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify Odell Lee further?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was a Negro member of the Communist Party for a short time and lived in West Seattle.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.



Mr. KUNZIG. Now are there any other names of any other people that you knew to be members of the Communist Party, who were then expelled for Trotskyism?

Mrs. HARTLE. One more is Eleanor Snyder.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us her residence and her employment?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was living either in or very close to Yesler Terrace housing project, in what is called the 35th district section of the Communist Party. She was expelled in about 1947 or early 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now is there any example in recent years of what is called "Trotskyism"?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I have heard Titoism explained as the Trotskyism of the present period.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Jim Taylor to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does he fit into this category we are discussing?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; he does not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, since I have mentioned his name, could you give us further identification and tell us perhaps where he lives or where he is employed?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. Jim Taylor—James Taylor was a member of the Communist Party in the 37th district. He was a member who was active in the youth work of the Communist Party for about a year. He was dropped by the Communist Party when it seemed that he was no longer interested in its activities.

We was a witness in the Smith Act trial against the defendants.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you. Now could you explain in a little further detail just what the Socialist Workers' Party is?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, the Socialist Workers' Party, from a Communist explanation, are the Trotskyites; they are always called the Trotskyites in the Communist Party. They are an organization. How they are organized, I don't know, but according to the Communist Party they are the vanguard, theoretical vanguard, that attacks the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that the Socialist Workers' Party has been cited as a subversive and Communist organization, which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means, by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947 and 1948, and by this committee, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948.

I have also a document here, Mr. Chairman, which I should like to introduce into the record, which has come to us officially from the Government here in Washington. It is a certification from the Department of State, which certifies that the attached is a true and correct copy of the proceedings of the nominating convention held by the Socialist Workers' Party on September 9, 1952, in Seattle, and it is signed by Earl Coe, Secretary of State. It shows in the list of names on page 11 the name Eugene V. Dennett, who has been testified about here this morning.

I offer this as Barbara Hartle exhibit No. 2.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received and filed for the information of the committee.

Proceed, counsel.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, I should like to turn to the subject of the Civil Rights Congress and its connection, if any, with the Communist Party. I would like to ask you questions about that from your own personal knowledge as a former member of the Communist Party and one of the top members in this district.

I want to make it very clear for the record, Mr. Chairman, so that there can be no confusion, that in referring to the Civil Rights Congress we are not referring in any way of course to the American Civil Liberties Union. It is a separate organization and has nothing to do with the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. CLARDY. It may be different and distinct, but I wouldn't go any further than that, if I were you, in what you say.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, would you tell us what you know about the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Civil Rights Congress in this area was started and controlled by the Communist Party, and by "this area" I mean Washington State. The way this came about was that sometime in the late 1940's, about 1946-47, when it began to be clear to the Communist Party that their policies would be in head-on clash with those of our country, some thought began to be given to having this civil-rights defense. And then of course after the arrest of the 12 national leaders of the Communist Party in the first Smith Act case, William Z. Foster made the statement that the Communist Party cannot carry on its own defense within itself; there has to be a separate organization; and Henry Huff reported this to the district board when he came back from a trip to national headquarters in New York City, and he pointed out that the Civil Rights Congress had to be organized in order to carry on this defense work of the Communist Party. He at that time suggested that John Daschbach become the organizer and the head of the Civil Rights Congress, and this was carried out and put through, and John Daschbach did assume that job and organized the Civil Rights Congress in this area, with some organization in places like Tacoma, Spokane, and Everett.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you been able to locate your notes on this?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't believe I have any notes on that, but I believe I am fairly familiar with it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did the Civil Rights Congress have any activity in the Negro field?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; the Civil Rights Congress, while its main and central purpose was the defense of Communist Party leaders in cases, did have a program of so-called Negro-rights work, and it supported some national cases that the Communist Party was bringing forward in its press and in its directives.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there any further information that you can think of and can give us concerning the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Civil Rights Congress also took up any kind of civil-rights cases that might draw some support to the committee in order to draw contacts into committee membership or to get financial support or get interest or influence of people; and the reason for taking up these other matters from time to time, like Negro rights or prisoners' relief, was to get a wider group of people into the circle of the Civil Rights Congress, with the aim then that eventually these people could be brought to a deeper understanding and would see the necessity of supporting the civil rights of Communists.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now we discussed a brief time ago the Northwest Labor School. Could you give us your knowledge of that group, that school, and just what connection it had with the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. The Pacific Northwest Labor School was a Communist-front project in the field of education, and its basic purpose was to spread Marxist-Leninist education but to do it in such a way as to attract non-Communists, in addition to its use as being a school for Communist Party members. It had a double purpose: to educate the party membership and to draw as many non-Communists into classes as possible at the same time.

It was not considered a party leadership training school; it was more for the membership. And, in order to attract a broader segment of persons into the school, a number of courses were included that were not in Marxism-Leninism, but they were included in order to appeal to people from labor unions, professional fields, and others. For example, parliamentary law would be a subject that was intended for the purpose of drawing people into the school and drawing them closer to it with no idea on their part that they were getting into a Communist school. An air of respectability was also created in this way, so that people would feel that if they enrolled in this school they had a perfect right to do so and there was nothing wrong with being in it. The hope, of course, was that if non-Communists enrolled this way, after awhile they would learn more about it and would become convinced to enroll in courses on Marxism-Leninism.

The objective of the school was to gain Communist influence over non-Communists, recruit as many people as possible out of this school into the Communist party, and special attention was paid to members of organized labor through this school.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "Barbara Hartle Exhibit No. 3" for identification, Mr. Chairman.

It purports to be a photostatic copy, Mrs. Hartle, of perhaps a typical announcement folder or sheet concerning this school. Could you tell us about it and identify it, if you can?

The front page of the booklet, you will see, has been opened up there to be photostated.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I see that it has been opened.

Yes, I recognize this. I recognize the address, as well as the courses that are listed in here.

Mr. KUNZIG. What would you say that document is?

Mrs. HARTLE. It is what you call a school prospectus; it lists the courses and the teachers and the schedule, and it is the sort of thing that the school puts out in order to enroll students in the school.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer this document, Barbara Hartle Exhibit No. 3, for identification into evidence as Barbara Hartle Exhibit No. 3.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received and filed for the information of the committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness has stated that in this prospectus or school catalog the courses are listed, as well as those who instruct in the courses. Might it not be well at this time to let the witness re-

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.



examine the document for the purpose of identifying those who are listed as instructors who are known to her to have been members of the Communist Party—unless there is objection from counsel and he intends to take that up in due course.

Mr. KUNZIG. We intend, Mr. Jackson, to take that up in a few moments.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. I will withdraw the request.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. At this moment, Mr. Chairman, I have in my hand a copy of the New World of Thursday, March 28, 1946, which talks about the labor school class, and so forth and so on. I would like to hand this document marked "Barbara Hartle Exhibit No. 4" for identification to the witness and ask if this is a typical announcement concerning the Northwest Labor School and if she could explain why this particular newspaper is interested in this particular school. It is a photostatic copy.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. This is an advertisement that was printed in the New World. It was for the purpose of advertising the labor school. The tie of interest between these two organizations is the Communist Party and the Communist domination of both of them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I am at the point now of asking the witness to go into the names of the people whom she knew to be Communist Party members, who were connected with and controlled and taught at the Pacific Northwest Labor School. I note that it is 10 minutes to 12 and suggest that perhaps you may wish to put this over until the afternoon session.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. If there is no objection from the members of the committee, I think this would be a proper breaking off place.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

<sup>2</sup> Testimony heard in this afternoon session is printed in pt. 4 of this series.



# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 2 (SEATTLE)

(Testimony of Barbara Hartle)

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Seattle, Wash.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9:08 a. m., in room 402, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash., Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, staff investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Before commencing this morning's session, I would like to say that we have word that there might be some mistake in identity of George Starkovich, who was identified by Mrs. Hartle yesterday and I want to announce that this matter will be cleared up later today or possibly tomorrow, as the George Starkovich whom Barbara Hartle referred to has been subpoenaed and will be here to testify, so that there will be no possible mistake in his identity.

Now will you proceed, counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

## FURTHER TESTIMONY OF BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED BY SPECIAL UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHAL DOROTHEA HALL

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I want to ask you just one question about Starkovich, who was mentioned a few moments ago prior to your coming into the room.

So far as you can recall, what is the age of the Starkovich whom you testified about yesterday?

Mrs. HARTLE. He would be about 25 years old now.

Mr. KUNZIG. A young man?

Mrs. HARTLE. A young man, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you very much.

Now when we broke off your testimony yesterday, we were discussing the Pacific Northwest Labor School. That is the correct name of it; is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did it ever go under any other name, to your knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. Before that, there was the Seattle Labor School, and my understanding is that the Pacific Northwest Labor School was another name for it, with the idea of spreading it more around the State.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

Now this morning I would like to go into the subject of people whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party and, remember, as we said yesterday, we are very definite on the point that we are only interested in those whom you know of your own personal knowledge to be members of the Communist Party.

Could you tell us the names of those people with whom you were associated who were active in the Pacific Northwest Labor School?

Mrs. HARTLE. Some of the people that were active in that, either as sponsors or in some other capacity were Pat Ryan—he was a member of an industrial branch of some kind and lived in the Holly Park housing project area. He was a member of the Holly Park Club for some time, and I knew him as a member there.

Then there was his wife, Jan Ryan.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that name?

Mrs. HARTLE. J-a-n R-y-a-n. She was branch secretary of the Holly Park branch and also lived in that area.

Martha Swanson, who was chairman of the Rainier Vista branch of the Communist Party for a time and lived in the Rainier Vista housing project.

Elsie Jarvis, who was a member of the Queen Anne branch in Seattle sometime ago and lived in the Queen Anne area.

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time, roughly, are you discussing here this morning as you give us these names?

Mrs. HARTLE. The names that I have given to you now will go at least through the middle 1940's, but with Elsie Jarvis it would be earlier and up to the middle 1940's.

Mr. KUNZIG. Try to give us the dates, if you can.

Mrs. HARTLE. Jean Hatten. I knew her in about the middle 1940's as Communist Party member in connection with women's work and knew her one time as being a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any identification with regard to address or work or anything else?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was a secretarial worker of some description, but further than that I am not able to describe her.

Winnie Sutton, who later was married and became Winnie Thompson. She was a member in the waterfront section and, as far as I know, was still a member when I left Seattle in 1950. I had known her in the late 1940's as a member. She was also a secretarial worker and, as I remember, was employed in a secretarial capacity by one of the waterfront unions.

Laura Wilkins was a member and dues secretary of the waterfront section of the Communist Party and lived in the central King County-

central Seattle area. She was a young Negro woman and a leader on the waterfront.

Ann Ryan, later Ann Carlsen, lived in the central King County area, was a member of the Communist Party in a branch in that area. I knew her as a member in the late 1940's. Also Laura Wilkins was a member in the late 1940's.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now these people of course that we are discussing here you also knew in connection with the Pacific Northwest Labor School, is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, all of them. All of them were connected in one way or another with the Pacific Northwest Labor School.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now without going into a lengthy discussion, could you tell us in what way they might have been identified with the school, that is, the different types of work or positions with the school that they could have had?

Mrs. HARTLE. They could have been sponsors of the school; they could have been teachers; they could have been connected with one of the classes or activities of the school.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Go ahead, if you will, please.

Mrs. HARTLE. Harry Fugl—I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in the early 1940's. He was a member and officer of the Building Service Employees Union and lived in the north Seattle area.

Ted Astley. I knew him as a member in the north King County Communist Party and knew him as a former teacher at the University of Washington—a teacher or an assistant teacher of some kind.

John Davis—I knew him as a member in Spokane in the late 1930's and during the period that I had been in Seattle from 1942 to 1950. I knew him as a member of the Renton Highlands branch of the Communist Party.

Fair Taylor. I knew her as a member of the district women's commission and worked with her in that capacity. I have known her as being employed by the Progressive Party for a time. I believe she lived in the west Seattle area.

Jean Danielson, who has already been mentioned.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was the Jean Danielson Schuddakopf whom you mentioned yesterday, was it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know this Fair Taylor by any other name, her married name? Does the name Egroth sound familiar to you?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, she later married and her name when I last knew her as a Communist Party member was Egroth.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is Fair Taylor Egroth?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Ruth Bitterman was an officer of the North King region of the Communist Party and lived in north Seattle.

Irene Hull has already been mentioned before.

Phyl Gillette—

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell his first name?

Mrs. HARTLE. P-h-y-l. I was told that he had run on a Communist Party ticket in the southwest Washington area some time in the 1930's. I knew him as a member in the south Seattle area in the early 1940's and in about middle 1940's.



Mr. KUNZIG. Now your knowledge of him as a member of the Communist Party, I take it, was not what you were told but what you know of your own personal knowledge, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. What I know of my own personal association.

Mr. VELDE. And, Mrs. Hartle, these people whom you are now naming were all connected with the Pacific Northwest Labor School, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct; they were all connected with it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further information of any kind on this Phyl Gillette?

Mrs. HARTLE. He lived in the south part of Seattle—not in the Rainier Valley area but more out toward the Boeing area.

Trudy Kirkwood lived in the north Seattle area. I knew her in the middle and latter 1940's as a member of the Communist Party, as being active in Communist Party cultural work. She was the wife of Mel Kirkwood at the time that I knew her.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the Mel Kirkwood that was mentioned here yesterday, is it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

William Mutch. I knew him as a member and officer in the waterfront section of the Communist Party in the middle and later 1940's.

Mary Salvus—I knew her as a member of the Alki branch of the Communist Party in west Seattle, and she lived in the Alki Point area. That was in the middle and the latter 1940's.

Edith Coley—I met her at a Communist women's conference in the north King region of the Communist Party shortly before I left Seattle in 1950.

Hazel Johnson—I knew her formerly as Hazel McCannon. I have worked with her in her Communist Party assignment as executive secretary of the Congress of American Women. I knew her in Seattle in the middle 1940's.

Helen Tavernite—I knew her as a member in one of the professional branches of the north King area and connected with cultural work of the Communist Party.

Florence Bean James—

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that name?

Mrs. HARTLE. B-e-a-n J-a-m-e-s. I knew her as a member of the Repertory branch of north King County and connected with a cultural work in which the Communist Party was interested. I had met with her personally regarding cultural work of the Communist Party.

Merwin Cole—He was a district board member and a district committee member, since the time that I had known him, from 1942 until shortly after the middle 1940's. He lived in the north Seattle area, was formerly, around the middle 1940's an officer of the Building Service Employees' Union.

H. J. Phillips—I knew him as a member of a professional branch in north King County and knew him formerly as a teacher at the University of Washington. He was a branch chairman of a branch in north King County.

A. M. Ottenheimer—I knew him and met him at a meeting of the Repertory branch of north King County.

Prof Harold Eby—I knew him as a member of the district board and district committee from 1932 until about the middle 1940's or shortly after. I knew him to be a professor at the University of Washington. He lived in the North Seattle area.



M. W. Kirkwood has already been mentioned before.

Carl Brooks—I knew him as a district committee member; as a chairman for a time of the district Negro commission of the Communist Party. He lived in the Madison district. I knew him as a Communist Party leader before I came to Seattle in 1942, in the latter 1930's, and knew him as a Communist Party member and leader up until around the middle 1940's, at which time he left this area.

Hallie Donaldson—I knew her as a member of the Communist Party active in cultural work.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you spell her first name, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. H-a-l-l-i-e. She lived in North Seattle. I knew her as a member from the time I came to Seattle in 1942 until I left in 1950. I believe that she was a teacher in the public-school system.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, do you have any information that you can give this committee concerning groups or organizations that backed the Pacific Northwest Labor School, either with knowledge of it Communist activity or innocently, without knowledge of the Communist control?

Mrs. HARTLE. There were several affiliated organizations of the Pacific Northwest Labor School—and this is what I know about them; this is my understanding of their situation—

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time are you speaking of now?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am speaking of the time of the Pacific Northwest Labor School. That was in the middle 1940's—around that time and somewhat thereafter—at the time that they were affiliated.

The Aeronautical Industrial District Lodge No. 751, which is often known as the Boeing union. According to my knowledge, there was no Communist influence in it, no Communist domination of this union, to my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you mean that this is a situation then perhaps when a union innocently backs this type of organization without knowing what it was like or without having any information about its true aim?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I believe that that was the case. I was quite well acquainted with the Communist Party influence in the aero mechanics, being assigned to aircraft concentration work, and I am quite certain there was very little Communist Party influence in it.

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Hartle, how long was the Pacific Northwest Labor School in existence here?

Mrs. HARTLE. For several years—2 or 3 years. It had the name Seattle Labor School and then Pacific Northwest Labor School, but it was in existence for several years.

Mr. VELDE. What years? If you can pin it down a little more definitely.

Mrs. HARTLE. The time of the school, as best that I can remember, was about the middle 1940's and a little beyond that—without being able to give you the exact time of the starting and the exact time of the ending.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know whether or not it was in existence at any time during the period of the GI bill of rights, when students were allowed tuition paid by the Federal Government and the taxpayers?

Mrs. HARTLE. My memory says that it would coincide with that period; yes.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know of any cases where a student at the school received benefits from the GI bill of rights to attend the school?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; I don't know of any such cases.

Mr. VELDE. There have been a number of cases throughout the country where the Federal Government—the taxpayers were paying for the education of young men, GI's, in such schools.

Mrs. HARTLE. I have heard that mentioned in connection with such schools, but I have no knowledge that that practice was ever employed or ever succeeded here.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show that the Seattle Labor School was cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party by Attorney General Tom Clark on December 4, 1947, and that the Pacific Northwest Labor School, by the other name, was cited as communistic by Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, September 11, 1950.

Would you continue, please, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. The motor-coach employees—I know of no Communist Party influence in that organization.

The Building Service Employees Union, Local 6, was for a long period completely Communist-dominated. High offices have been held in this union by George Bradley, William K. Dobbins, Mervin Cole, Ward Coley, Jess Fletcher, all of whom I knew to be Communist Party members at the time that they held these offices.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now this union and all of these unions that you are discussing, you are mentioning in connection with the fact that they were affiliated with the Pacific Northwest Labor School; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were there any others?

Mrs. HARTLE. The cannery workers was affiliated. It was once headed by Conrad Espe, whom I knew to be a Communist Party member. I had attended a national convention at which he was a delegate and to which I was a visitor in 1938.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any further address or identification in any way of Conrad Espe?

Mrs. HARTLE. The only thing further that I know about him is that he was living somewhere in the area near Seattle. I haven't seen him for quite a long, long time.

To the best of my knowledge, there was no dominating influence by the Communist Party of the cannery-workers union at the time that I knew it to be affiliated with the school.

The machinists union was also affiliated. The business agent for several years of the machinists union during this time was Harold Johnston, who was a member also of the district committee of the Communist Party of which I was a member. The Communist Party has always had a number of members in the machinists union. Some of them that I can remember are Glen Kinney, Ray Campbell, Frank Kerr, Gene Robel. They were members at about the time that this affiliation was in effect.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now the only identification you have given so far as to these four people—Kinney, Campbell, Kerr, and Robel—is their connection with the machinists' union. Is there any further identification at all that you can assist us here with this morning?

Mrs. HARTLE. Harold Johnston lived for a time in the middle 1940's and shortly after that in the Auburn area on a farm. I knew him as

a member of the Communist Party of the machinists' branch and have attended functionaries' meetings with him in Seattle.

Glen Kinney lived in the central Seattle area.

Ray Campbell lived in the Queen Anne area.

Frank Kerr lived close to Renton.

Gene Robel lived for awhile in Ballard and then later in Kennydale, Wash., near Renton.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I would like to turn now from the Pacific Northwest Labor School to a different subject and question you about the Washington Pension Union.

Can you tell the committee, from your own personal knowledge, what connection the Washington Pension Union had, if any, with Communist activity in this area?

Mrs. HARTLE. There was quite a lot of connection with Communist activity in this area between the Communist Party and the Washington Pension Union. The Northwest district of the Communist Party has paid a great deal of attention to the Washington Pension Union for a long period of years. What to do next in the Pension Union has been the subject of many discussions in district board and district committee meetings in which I have participated between the period 1932 to 1940, and in large district committee meetings before that in the latter 1930's.

Important offices and many local offices of the Washington Pension Union have been held by Communist Party members, and the activities and policies of the Pension Union have always been supported by the Communist Party.

Many issues have been brought into the Pension Union by the Communist Party and gained wide support by so doing.

For several years prior to his death in 1953, William J. Pennock was president of the Washington Pension Union, its top position, and I have known him as a member of the district committee in the first half of the 1940's.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that the record may be clear, William J. Pennock was a defendant with you in the Smith Act trial up until his death, is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is right.

The Communist Party in this district viewed the Washington Pension Union as really its most important single front organization. It is called mass organization by the Communist Party; they don't use the term "front organization." They call it a "mass organization."

It was the largest and most influential and second only to the Washington Commonwealth Federation, which was a federation of organizations. And the Washington Pension Union was an affiliate of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, in which the Communist Party likewise had a dominating influence.

Some of the officers of the Washington Pension Union whom I have known as Communist Party members are:

Mable Conrad—I knew her as a secretary of the Washington Pension Union and as a Communist Party member in the west Seattle area from the time I came to Seattle in 1942 until I left in 1950. To the best of my knowledge, she is still an officer of the Washington Pension Union.

Lorraine Hester was known to me as a Communist Party member from about 1947 until I left Seattle in 1950. I knew her as a member



of the Alki branch of the Communist Party in west Seattle. I have known her to hold an office in the Washington Pension Union. I believe it was the position of treasurer. To the best of my knowledge she is still holding that position at the present time.

Dorothy Davis was known to me as a Communist Party member from about 1947 until I left Seattle in 1950. She lived in the central Seattle area. I knew her to be an officer or an organizer for the Washington Pension Union during the latter part of this time.

William Cumming was for a period an organizer in the Washington Pension Union in about 1949. He was known to me as a member of the Communist Party until I left Seattle in 1950, and lived in the central Seattle area.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now did the Communist Party leaders in this area exercise a great deal of control over the activities of the Washington Pension Union, which control was unknown to the many members of the Washington Pension Union?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am sure that the control was unknown to many of the Washington Pension Union members, but there is no doubt as to the very tight control of policies and activities of the Washington Pension Union by the Communist Party, and specifically by the district board, of which I was a member.

Mr. KUNZIG. About how many members would you say that the Washington Pension Union had in this period of time?

Mrs. HARTLE. My knowledge of the membership of the pension union is that it was reported by William J. Pennock and others in meetings that it had about 10,000 members.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Is the Washington Pension Union still a functioning organization?

Mrs. HARTLE. It was still functioning—well, to the best of my knowledge it is still functioning. If it has gone out of business, it has done so in the very recent few months.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you testified about the small number of Communists controlling this group, is it your desire to tell this committee that as many as 10,000 people, innocently duped, were being led by a small group of Communists?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I believe that is a correct thing to say. By supporting the demands or the desires or the imaginary desires of pensioners for pensions, it was possible to get those people to give their names to, to give their support to, and their money to many, many other issues that were very remote from pensions but which the Communist Party was interested in.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please, if you have any further information about it?

Mrs. HARTLE. The membership of the Communist Party in the organization was small, smaller than in most so-called mass-organization work.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. This was considered by the district leadership of the Communist Party, and by the national leadership as well, as being evidence of very successful mass work and it was often used as an example of successful Communist mass work—where it didn't take so many Communists in order to influence a large number of people.



Another person who has been an officer of the Washington Pension Union is Tom Rabbitt, whom I knew as a Communist from about 1943 until I left Seattle in 1950. I knew him as a member of the district board for a period and as a member of the district committee in the earlier part of the period I have mentioned.

Mr. KUNZIG. If it lies within your knowledge, is this the same Mr. Rabbitt who was a member of the State Senate of the State of Washington?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is the same Mr. Rabbitt.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge, at the same time that he was a State senator in the State of Washington?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, he was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that known to the people of Washington?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think they suspected it, but I don't think it was due to Mr. Rabbitt or the Communist Party; it was due to the newspapers.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now in your discussion of the Washington Pension Union, you discussed front groups; you discussed what a front organization was and explained that the Communists use the term "mass organization."

I would like to turn now, if I may, to your knowledge of front work and have testimony from you this morning concerning fronts.

Just what is a Communist front and how do the Communists use front organizations?

Mrs. HARTLE. The basic Marxist-Leninist theory behind Communist-front work is the definition of a relation between maximum and minimum demands. In Communist Party classes it is taught that an organization, say, like the Socialist Party is for socialism—period—is all or nothing. The Communist theory says that this is a static approach and that socialism cannot come out of just being for socialism or nothing, and the Communist theory says that the road to socialism has to be through a series of efforts that take up immediate demands in which the working class or other sections of the people are interested and understand, and from there to lead them on to a deeper understanding of what is involved in achieving their demands.

So the immediate demand might be a raise in wages, but the maximum demand—and this maximum demand is set by Marxism-Leninism, not by the workers, is socialism. Then the relation is pointed out that the gain of higher wages cannot be achieved and adequate wages cannot be achieved without putting up a struggle, and in the course of carrying on these struggles the Communists say that the workers will learn the way to get the fullest possible return from their labor is to have socialism, and in this way all of these minimum and maximum demands are connected up.

The aim of the Communist Party in taking up these immediate demands is not to achieve the immediate demand; that is not the basic aim of the Communist Party—to achieve the immediate demand, but to organize and educate and unite the working class and its allies in the course of the struggle for these demands. For instance, an achievement in the raise in wages that Communist leaders might lead in a union is considered a byproduct of the revolutionary movement, and this is the way it is explained in basic Marxist-Leninist theory.

Another part of this theory is that demands that are achieved without struggle are reforms and concessions by the capitalist class, and

it is also said by Communist theory that these concessions breed illusions in the capitalist system. This is all in Communist terminology, but it was explained to me in a school that I went to that if the capitalist class—of course that means the employers—were to give a raise in wages or any other concessions without the workers and the unions putting up a big struggle for it—well, the workers would think, "This system is pretty good; we think we will stay with it." And this is what is called illusions in capitalism by the Communist Party.

The Communist Party in this country thinks, incidentally, that the workers are very full of illusions, and I readily understand now why they think so.

Labor leaders who negotiate and achieve results for the union membership without rousing up the members to a big struggle to picket lines or big meetings and a lot of activity are considered to be class collaborationists; these are people who help the capitalist system keep going by making it work.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Then, Witness, what are you saying, in summation is that the Communist Party is not interested actually in furthering the best interests of the workers but rather in using the workers as a tool to achieve revolution eventually?

Mrs. HARTLE. The way the Communist Party puts it is that these immediate demands must be struggled for in order to unite, educate, and organize the workers and make them a force that can eventually take power in organized socialism, but what is gained on these immediate demands—the gains that are made—the Communist Party is not against those gains, if they are achieved in struggle. However, the gains are merely byproducts of the revolutionary movement.

Mr. CLARDY. They figure that by keeping the workers steamed up, more or less, they are training them for the ultimate moment when comes the revolution?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. It is sort of the basic training, so to speak, for the final blow?

Mrs. HARTLE. Strikes have been described as training schools of the workers.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mrs. HARTLE. The real reason why the Communist Party takes up these minimum demands is to organize the forces for the seizure of power, to prepare these forces to fight. And that is basic in Marxist-Leninist theory and is taught in the classes, is read in the books that are used in the classes and that are circulated by the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. How would the success of this type of front work be measured?

(At this point Mr. Jackson left the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. The success of this front work is measured a great deal by how ably a small number of Communists can lead and influence and dominate a large number of people. If it takes 1 Communist to lead 1 non-Communist, that is not considered very successful mass work; but if 1 Communist can lead 100 or 200 or 300 non-Communists, then that is considered more successful.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire again?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. It has been said repeatedly that there are approximately 25,000 known or identified Communists in the United States. I am not sure that that is an accurate figure; I think it is an underestimate. But assuming that it is accurate, aren't the people of this country deluding themselves when they are trying to measure the strength and the influence and the possibilities of the Communist Party when they think in terms of 25,000? In other words, should you not multiply that 25,000 by at least 100 or more in order to measure the acts of influence and possibilities for harm of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I believe that that is still the case. It is less the case than it was some years ago, however.

Mr. CLARDY. Wouldn't you say that it is less the case because committees such as this and other movements have been exposing them and stripping them of their coloration that disguises what they are trying to do?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is certainly true.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, following the line of questioning, Mrs. Hartle, that was mentioned just a brief moment ago by Congressman Clardy, of Michigan, I would like to discuss with you and get your testimony on the conflict of union interests and Communist Party interests. In other words, if there is a conflict, does the union interest come out on top or does the Communist Party interest come out on top? Is the Communist Party really interested in the workingman?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, the Communist Party, of course, says that it is the party of the working class, and that it has no interest separate and apart. That is what it says. And that is what many people believe and what I believed for a considerable period of time. But a closer examination of how this works, being the party of the working class, and what actually happens, have led me to see that this is not the case, that the Communist Party has other objectives besides those of serving the interests of the working class.

(At this point Mr. Jackson returned to the hearing room.)

Now, the Communist Party of the United States, or as far as I know, no other real Communist Party has ever said in its theory that it was serving the interests of the working class of this country. They always say they are serving the interests of the working class of the world as a whole, not just of this country.

The Communist Party says that it wants to make its main base among the workers, and there is a great deal in the Marxist-Leninist works and in the current works of the Communist Party that deals with works among working people, especially the organized workers. And there is a great deal of discussion and planning and activity of the Communist Party in the trade-union fields, and work in the trade unions has always had a high place on the Communist agenda and especially since the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945.

And such persons as Karley Larsen—

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you spell that name, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. *K-a-r-l-e-y L-a-r-s-e-n*. Then William Dodd, Merwin Cole, Jess Fletcher, who were the top leaders in trade unions and were able to carry Communist policies to a great degree through the unions, were always considered very important persons by the Communist Party.



Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Hartle, you mentioned the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. And you referred to Earl Browder in that connection.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. I wonder if you would go into that a little more fully and explain to the committee the effect of the Duclos letter in the Pacific Northwest?

Mrs. HARTLE. I should say first that in 1944 there was a national convention and district conventions. Discussion was held under the leadership of Earl Browder that the Communist Party be dissolved and that a Communist political association be set up in this country after World War II of course. Earl Browder gave the opinion now that fascism had been defeated in World War II, there was the opportunity to have a long period of peaceful relations on a world scale and of peaceful development and progress in our country, as between the working class and the capitalist class.

(At this point Mr. Scherer returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. VELDE. You are speaking now of Earl Browder's idea?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; and it was around this that the Communist Political Association was set up after the Communist Party was dissolved.

Then Jacques Duclos, a French Communist Party leader, wrote an article in the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, and in this article—it is called the Duclos letter—this article stated that the American Communist Party had gotten off the road of Marxism-Leninism, off the road of class struggle—accused Earl Browder of revisionism of Marxism-Leninism. This letter was purportedly written to enlighten the French Communist Party members. However, it was printed in the Daily Worker. A discussion took place around it in the Communist Political Association and then it developed later that evidently William Z. Foster had had ideas along this line, too, and the result of that was to reconstitute the Communist Party, dissolve the Communist Political Association in 1945.

So the Communists of this country reconstituted the Communist Party on Marxist-Leninist lines program theory.

Mr. VELDE. Isn't it true, too, that the Duclos letter advocated more militancy in the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that was the analysis: That there could not be peace in the world and that there could not be peace in our country, that the class struggle always goes on until Communists win out in a world scale and you have socialism and later communism assured on a world scale.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. At that point I think it very appropriate that I call the committee's attention to page 43 of a booklet published by the American Bar Association in September 1951, in which Earl Browder is referred to, and I will read it, it is very brief. It is right along the line of the witness' observations:

What are the conditions for membership in the Communist Party?

The conditions for membership in our party are contained in the following pledge read by Comrade Browder to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the party in the New York district in 1935.



"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparringly in the unions, in the shops, among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

And under that appears the following, which I quote.

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the CI (Communist International) and the Communist Party of the United States of America and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work."

I have two other paragraphs, Mr. Chairman, that I would like to read for the record at a later place in our hearing, but I call attention to the fact that this Communist pledge in 1935, as read by Earl Browder about 10 years before he was expelled from the Communist leadership in the United States, made no mention of any loyalty to the United States of America. There was no pledge of support of the United States Constitution; it all referred to support of the Soviet Union.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. In effect, it constitutes a repudiation of American citizenship. Is that not the case?

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, this has not been brought out clearly, and I thought perhaps we could do so at this moment.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Duclos was not speaking for Duclos; he had just come from Moscow and was speaking for Russian communism when he wrote the letter, was he not?

Mrs. HARTLE. My knowledge of that is that Thorez had been in Soviet Russia, and I was told by Henry Huff in a sort of an aside that in regard to the Duclos letter and Duclos importance, that we should not forget that Thorez had been in Russia.

Mr. CLARDY. He retreated to Russia in order to avoid service in the French Army and then came back and brought the message; but Duclos, himself, had also been to Moscow, had he not?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't know that he had been there.

Mr. CLARDY. At any rate, whether he had or not, he was bringing the message of world communism from Russia and not speaking merely as an individual?

Mrs. HARTLE. It was intimated to me and strongly implied, and I understood it that way, that Thorez who had been in Russia, was back in France and that the writing of this Duclos article was connected with Thorez coming back, and therefore the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was behind this Duclos letter.

Mr. CLARDY. Just as the Daily Worker today is the telegraph system for all the Communists in the United States, the Duclos letter was the same thing for communism generally all over the world, wasn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I believe that was correct, and it had that standing.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. Speaking of the Duclos letter just reminds me that we have another yellow letter here which was circulated today in the city of Seattle. It appears to be a little bit more literate than the one which we mentioned yesterday, although it is just as vicious in attacking the committee. The letter is purportedly issued by the Washington State Labor Defense Committee, 84 Union Street, Seattle, Wash., Bill Gettings, chairman. The letter purports to suggest ways and means by which people subpoenaed before this committee can secure legal advice and contains this statement:

Ask your friends and union to support you in the fight against these irresponsible characters—

meanings members of the Un-American Activities Committee—

and to keep from being fired from your job when you refuse to be a stool pigeon.

and I presume by that they are referring to you, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. No doubt.

Mr. VELDE. Secondly, they ask if any members subpoenaed need assistance they should feel free to call on the Labor Defense Committee. I just want to say then that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not interested in any way in causing any disturbances in the legitimate labor unions in this area or anywhere else throughout the country.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. In order that the comrades everywhere throughout the country may know that the comrades here in Seattle are hard at work, I would suggest that the communication be inserted into the official transcript of the record.

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to second the motion.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be ordered.

Mr. JACKSON. It would be terrible for the local Cominform to feel that the comrades had fallen down on the job.

Smear and run is exactly what we can expect of the Velde Un-American Committee when they come to Seattle for a four-day session next week. Announced schedule is Monday through Thursday, June 14-17, 9:30 a. m. to 5 p. m., County Commissioners' Auditorium, County-City Building.

Why is Velde bringing his TV show to Seattle at this time?

This is an important election year, and some people in our state think our six Republican Congressmen deserve to be 'retired'; a lot of trade unions think something should be done to get jobs for their unemployed members; a large number of trade unions and farmers' organizations together with leading figures in public life are demanding more public power, public schools, and public housing which all our people need, that will also supply jobs to unemployed workers. These are the real issues in our state—but—Harold Himmel Velde and his thought-control Un-American Committee agree with McCarthy that these are dangerous thoughts and subversive activities, and if allowed to continue, more people might get together and elect some congressman and legislators who will work FOR the people—they might even pass an Initiative to help the unemployed—they might even demand trade with Indochina instead of war!

The Administration considers our State so important that Velde will be here in person to direct his Un-American TV production personally—crowding legitimate entertainers off the air with his stable of Star Stool Pigeons and any additional "talent" his scouts may have dragged out of the gutters and sewers these past months. By past performances we can expect these professional witnesses to name more Democrats and Labor leaders as "secret Communists" and to say that organizations which fight for their members are "Communist infiltrated"!

In view of this we think that the signature campaign to put Initiative 196 on the ballot in our State (to improve the Unemployment Insurance Act) is of

utmost importance—Now—because Init. 196 meets a genuine need, and is already uniting thousands of people. Getting this measure on the ballot will constitute a victory for the people which no amount of smearing can stop. The more they smear it, the more people will turn out to vote FOR it. And it is a matter of record that when Labor turns for an election, they elect Congressmen and Legislators who listen to labor.

#### THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

Some people may lose their jobs because they use the 5th Amendment, and refuse to testify because they will not be informers. Some already subpoenaed have issued public statements and sent letters to friends and neighbors explaining why they will use the 5th Amendment. Many others who will not be subpoenaed also stand to lose by being smeared, with little opportunity to defend themselves (except by banding together with others in like circumstances) because the Congress who ask the questions and the stool pigeons who say what they're paid to say are the only ones who enjoy parliamentary immunity in this fiasco!

To date some 20 or more trade unionists, and about the same number of business and professional people have been subpoenaed. We are not at liberty to publicize the names of all whom we know have been subpoenaed, but we can say that to our knowledge, no officer of any union has been subpoenaed to date. This is obviously a deliberate trick of the Un-American Committee who hope to lull the trade unions most concerned into being quiet until the last minute when it will be more difficult to arouse the union membership to the kind of demonstration that will put these bums on the run.

Some serious thought must be given to these questions in the next few days so that we will all start to MOVE—in the same direction.

We suggest:

1. If subpoenaed—now or later—immediately consult an attorney. Do not allow yourself to be subpoenaed from your job or home to the hearings without legal advice. Do not go into any closed sessions without your attorney. Ask your friends and union to support you in the fight against these irresponsible characters, and to keep from being fired from your job when you refuse to be a stool pigeon; remember it is not a disgrace, but an honor to be attacked by these Un-Americans.

2. If you need assistance, please feel free to call on Labor's Defense Committee.

Issued by: Washington State Labor Defense Committee,

84 Union Street,

Seattle, Wash., Bill Gettings, Chairman.

BG/j.

Attention to letter.

(At this point Mr. Velde left the hearing room.)

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, yesterday I mentioned that I had a copy of a news release issued by Walter P. Reuther, president of the national UAW-CIO, and in view of this yellow sheet coming in this morning from alleged laboring men, it seems appropriate to read a small portion thereof to you. I wish to state that this news release by Mr. Reuther came into my possession when I was sitting as a member of the subcommittee in Flint, Mich., several weeks ago. It reads as follows:

We have no quarrel with the professed purposes of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Each witness appearing before these committees must of course make his own individual decision as to the course of action which he will follow in his testimony. This is a matter of individual conscience and judgment. However, we in UAW-CIO sincerely urge every witness called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, if it is at all possible to do so, to avoid using the fifth amendment. Protecting the good name and reputation of innocent people and their families does not absolve the former Communist from his patriotic duty as a citizen to testify fully of his firsthand knowledge of the names and activities of any Communist Party functionary, of any illegal activities, or any evidence of conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force or violence, or evidence of a nature which would serve to strengthen the security of our Nation, while at the same time refusing to testify in any matter in which



he has no direct firsthand knowledge or any matter which has happened so far in the past that his memory cannot be relied upon with any degree of accuracy. We, the UAW-CIO, believe that this is the hour when America needs to take inventory and we dedicate ourselves to the basic principles and values which have been the source of our greatness, UAW-CIO, through years of practical experience and the forefront of fighting against communism, fully recognizes and understands the danger of the Communist world conspiracy. We support and shall continue to support every effort of our Government to meet this threat. We shall, however, resist every effort on the part of any apostle of fear, hatred, or hysteria, who would try to destroy the very freedom that we are dedicated to preserve. As a free people you must demonstrate the courage and good sense to resist the use of Communist and totalitarian methods under the guise of fighting communism—et cetera.

I have not read all of that, Mr. Chairman, because it is manifestly too long at this point, but I did think it was appropriate in view of this sheet distributed by a handful of alleged members of some branch of labor that the community knows of this declaration by Mr. Reuther.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much. I think it is quite obvious from the communications which the committee has received here and elsewhere that the vast majority of labor in the United States stands solidly behind the committee and the work that it is doing.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, I just want to pick up one further point in regard to the Duclos letter which you were talking about a few minutes ago. I should assume that the Duclos letter, along with certain other points, might be called principal milestones in the course of the history of the American Communist Party. I am referring to such milestones as the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact and the outbreak of war in Korea, for example. Here is what I want to ask you. Is it safe to say that anyone who remained in the party through these major milestones along the way of history can be considered to be hard-core dedicated Communists?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I think that that can be said. I think that one should take notice of the fact, though, that I went through all those periods and was probably quite far above the average dedicated Communist, but I am not one any longer, and that there are many people even who have gone through these periods, and who may, through one event or another, have been able to see objectively what the Communist Party really is and be able to break away.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, in that connection, I think that it should be stated again, as it has frequently been stated during committee hearings, that the committee urges any former Communist who has broken with the party to come forward voluntarily to testify. During the hearings that were conducted by Mr. Doyle and by the presently acting chairman in San Diego several months ago, for the first time, I believe, four former Communists came to the hearing voluntarily, their testimony was received by the committee, and I think added considerably to the sum total of the knowledge now possessed by the committee as to the objectives and the goals of the Communist conspiracy. I am sure that all of the committee members would want to urge at this time that any former Communists who may be listening or watching these broadcasts come forward and give whatever testimony they can. They can be assured, I am certain, of a courteous and fair hearing, and it is certainly not the intent of the committee to persecute anyone in any way who desires to give such testimony.



Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now I will return to the subject we were discussing a while back, the conflict of union interests and Communist Party interests.

Especially since this reconstitution that you have talked about of the Communist Party, has there been any further emphasis of this type of interest, this type of putting the party over union interests?

Mrs. HARTLE. Since the reconstitution, especially, the Communist Party has emphasized its interest in working people and in labor organizations through its concentration policy, to which the whole Communist Party was organized and geared in this area. The aim of the Communist Party, through this concentration policy, was to gain a strong foothold in the basic industries, especially lumber, marine, and aircraft in this area. And this was the major objective of the Communist Party in this district up to the time that I left Seattle in 1950. So that I think that it becomes clear that the Communist Party's involvement with labor organizations is on a different pattern and with a different perspective than just helping trade-union members gain their trade-union rights; it has a definite organized concentration program of its own—a perspective of its own.

One of the things that I would like to bring out is that the Communist Party, when it says that it is the party of the working class, in its basic theory doesn't say that the Communist Party of the United States is the Communist Party of the working class in the United States. In the basic theory, it is made clear that the Communist Party and the Communist movement is basing itself on the entire world working class, which of course it is very easy to analyze—that it fits in with the idea of an international conspiracy and seizure of power on a whole-world scale, but that is the way the Communist terminology goes in order to sell itself through its members to the working people.

The interests of any of the working class, if you use the term "class" of any particular country has to be subordinated to the interests of the world working class as a whole. It says in Communist theory—— (At this point Mr. Velde returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. So that if the power of the leaders of communism emanated from Russia, they could subordinate the interests of American workers to the interests of Russian workers, is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is exactly how it would work out in practice, and when I say that I discovered that, that is the practice that I don't agree with.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't that the thing that makes the Communist Party such a grave danger to this country, then, that is, to be a dedicated Communist you have to be, in effect, a traitor to your own country?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. And owe your allegiance to Russia?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is absolutely true.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, at this point may I interrupt?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

(At this point Mr. Velde left the hearing room.)

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt for the purpose of getting into the record a quotation from Mr. Lenin on that point, as set forth on page

11 of this booklet by the American Bar Association, which I earlier quoted from. It reads:

Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single capitalist country taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists and in the event of necessity come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states.

Mr. JACKSON. The fact that Mr. Doyle reads this quote from the document of the American Bar Association should carry no connotation, Mr. Doyle being a distinguished member of that great profession.

Mr. DOYLE. I am very glad that I am a member of that great profession. So that there will be no misunderstanding, Mr. Jackson, this booklet of the American Bar Association from which I read, is their brief on communism, Marxism, and Leninism, purposes, objectives and practices, and as a result of a special committee of the American Bar Association, which committee made a study of the subject of Marxism and communism and Leninism. In being a member of the California bar and the bar of the Supreme Court, I naturally am glad to refer to this booklet for authority.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course, Mr. Chairman, that is not to say that our profession, the legal profession, of which Mr. Doyle and I and other members are a part, does not have its Communists also, as you know. There is one organization that is now wrestling with the Attorney General because of that fact. It is too bad, but there it is.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank God there are very few of them.

Mr. CLARDY. That is right, and I hope we can arrange to have fewer.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would it be correct to say that in Communist theory the starting point is that a union's interests must be the interests of the working class if they are not to be in conflict with the Communist Party's interests?

Mrs. HARTLE. The world working class. It is not just in the interests of the American working class.

I might say it this way. If this particular union has a program and if that program is in the interests of the members of that union, that is not enough. If it is in the interests of the working people of the whole country, that is not enough. It has to be in the interests of the world working class. And if there is anything that that union does that is in conflict with the interests of the whole world working class, it will be in conflict with Communist interests.

Mr. CLARDY. Aren't you there using the term "world working class" a little bit out of place? Don't you really mean the Communist Party on a worldwide basis? They have no real interest in the working people, as such, anywhere at any time, do they?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, no, you are quite correct. That is true. But that is the terminology of the Communist Party by which it sells itself in a very subtle propaganda effort, not only to people generally, but to its own members and, unfortunately, to some of its readers, even, like myself.

(At this point Mr. Velde returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please, where you left off, I believe, in your testimony concerning the conflict of union interests versus Communist Party interests?

Mrs. HARTLE. There would be a conflict in union interests and party interests if a union were to exclude Communists from their union or from positions of leadership in the union, or if the union were to express its opinion in any way in disagreement with Soviet Russia; or were to express an opinion on any number of issues in conflict with Communist Party policies—then there would be that conflict of union interests and Communist interests.

I think the best way to explain that is the way to eliminate any conflict of union interests and Communist Party interests is to have the Communist Party completely dominate the union, officers, policies and all, and that is the way to resolve the conflict.

Mr. KUNZIG. And that is what the Communist Party would like to have in all unions, if they could, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is what they would like to have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Before turning to specific instances of conflict, Mr. Chairman, I should like to recommend a recess.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in recess for 15 minutes at this point.

(Whereupon, at 10:25 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:40 a. m.)

(Whereupon, at 10:43 a. m., the hearing was reconvened.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I have in my hand this yellow sheet which you received this morning, similar to the one which we received yesterday, this one being signed in typewriting by the Washington State Labor Defense Committee, 84 Union Street, Seattle, Wash., Bill Gettings, chairman. I think it is significant that among other things, he says:

We are not at liberty to publicize the names of all whom we know have been subpoenaed, but we can say that to our knowledge no officer of any union has been subpoenaed to date. This is obviously a deliberate trick of the Un-American Committee to hope to lull the trade unions most concerned into being quiet until the last minute, when it will be more difficult to arouse the union membership to the kind of demonstration that will put these bums on the run.

I read that, Mr. Chairman, because on its face it is so ridiculous as of course not to be worthy of vigorous consideration, but it also should be significant that this committee now in its second day of hearings has not subpoenaed any union officer. That, in itself, should indicate how false it is, and that this House Un-American Committee is not trying to hurt or harm any functioning of any legitimate labor union.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you for that observation.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, earlier this morning you mentioned the name of Karly Larsen which is, of course, a very well-known name in this area. He was acquitted in the Smith Act trial, was one of those defendants in the trial. It was repeatedly asserted, I remember, through his attorney, I believe, that he had left the Communist Party in 1946. I would like to ask you to give the committee the benefit of your knowledge as fully as you can concerning Karley Larsen and his activities in the Communist Party.



(At this point Mr. Doyle left the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. I have know Karley Larsen as a member of the district committee of the Communist Party from the time I came to Seattle in 1942, until the time I was sent underground in July 1950, and I have met with him in many district committee meetings throughout this period.

I also knew him as a member of the district board when I left Seattle, and that is the district executive board, and I recall him as being a continuous member of the district board from 1945 until July 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, then if Karley Larsen were to make the statement that he left the Communist Party in 1946, I put it to you clearly and plainly, is that statement a lie?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is a lie.

Mr. KUNZIG. To your own personal knowledge, it is a lie?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he an active member of the party when you went underground in 1950?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, he was an active member of the party and a member of the district board of which I was also a member at the time that I went underground in 1950.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words he did not leave the party in 1950. You lost contact with him merely because you went underground; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Because I went underground.

Mr. SCHERER. But at the time you left he was still an active member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please Mrs. Hartle, in your testimony concerning Karley Larsen?

Mrs. HARTLE. I have know Karley Larsen as a leading Communist Political Association and Communist Party figure in lumber and a leading Communist Party trade unionist. He was a president of district 2 and an international officer of the International Woodworkers of America during the time that I knew him as a Communist Party leader.

I also knew that he was an officer of the Progressive Party of Washington during the time that I knew him as a Communist Party leader.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt again, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, do you know or does the witness know whether Larsen testified at his hearing?

Mrs. HARTLE. He did not testify.

Mr. SCHERER. Were witnesses produced that said that he left the party in 1945?

Mr. KUNZIG. To my understanding, of course, I was not present, Mr. Scherer, but I believe the counsel for Mr. Larsen repeatedly asserted that he left the party in 1946.

Is there any further testimony, or have you concluded your testimony concerning Karley Larsen.

Mrs. HARTLE. I did want to mention one more thing, and that was after I left Seattle to go underground, shortly after that, I returned



to Seattle one evening and met with Karley Larsen in a car regarding Communist Party business. Some discussion was held about how the Communist Party should function. This meeting was arranged with me through the directives of Henry Huff, chairman of the Communist Party of Washington.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you tell us when this meeting took place, roughly?

Mrs. HARTLE. It was the latter part of 1950.

Later, Henry Huff informed me that a district convention had been held at the end of 1950, and he told me that this convention had been held and that I had been elected to the district committee at this convention. I was informed after it was held that I had been elected, and that my name had not been used but that I had been described in such a fashion that the delegates there would know who was referred to and the word "waitress" was used in connection with me, so the delegates would know who I was.

Also, Henry Huff told me that Larsen was also elected to that district committee, and that the name Mr. Wood was used in describing him so the delegates would know who he was, in being elected to the district committee.

I was not present at that convention, but that is what Henry Huff told me.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you say that the fact that you were referred to as a waitress, and that the word "Wood" was used, as you have just testified—would you explain this a little further on that subject, as to why that was used, how that was meant by the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. How that was meant was that it was a security measure of the Communist Party to make sure that no FBI agent could ever find out who were members of the district committee, and by describing people in these terms it would also make it impossible to testify as to who was really elected because there could be a lot of waitresses, there could be a lot of Mr. Woods. However, Huff made it clear to me who was meant by this.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, let us turn back to what we were discussing before the break, the conflict of union interests and Communist Party interests, and I said I was going to ask you questions concerning specific instances of conflict that may be known to you.

Could you give us the benefit of your knowledge and specific instances of conflicts of union interests versus Communist Party interests?

Mrs. HARTLE. The main conflict between union interests and that of the Communist Party takes place around the question of how to solve union problems. And inasmuch as the unions and their members do not have the objective of overthrowing our form of government but want to achieve their results within our governmental framework, they will seek to gain their results with a minimum of disturbance necessary in order to achieve what they consider to be their just and necessary demands. The Communists, though, on the contrary, are not so much interested in the result as in the method used to achieve them, and they will attempt to present the demands and organize the fight for them in such a manner as to involve the greatest possible amount of activity of the members, and to have this activity reach the highest possible militancy.

For example, in Spokane in about 1936, while I was in the Communist Party there, the Communist Party had some contact with union leaders in a certain union, and it was learned that the leaders in this local felt that they could negotiate for their demands with the company; but the advice of the Communists was to convince the workers to go on strike and to get the whole labor movement involved in supporting the strike and to work for public approval of their demands in strikes; in other words, to achieve their demands by more militant action than a settlement over the table between union leaders and company representatives.

(At this point Mr. Doyle returned to the hearing room.)

MR. KUNZIG. Even if this settlement was to the great advantage of the laboring man, that is not what the party wanted, is that correct?

MRS. HARTLE. That is correct. That is considered just a concession, and working over the table and getting results is considered class collaboration, and that is a big term in the Communist Party theory.

It was explained to these union leaders by the Communists that it would be a great help to the labor movement and it would make it easier for other unions to get their demands, and so forth, if they would put on more of a struggle instead of negotiating.

However, in the Communist circles, the analysis was that the strikes teach the workers how and whom to fight, educate them that when they reach the point that they themselves want socialism, they will be already trained in how to fight for it. And of course they learn how to fight for socialism in the course of fighting for minimum demands. The Communist Party constantly says that sooner or later the workers themselves will want socialism and it will be mighty handy if they know how to fight for it when the times comes that they see they want it.

(At this point Mr. Jackson left the hearing room.)

MR. KUNZIG. Do you know of any instance involving the Teamsters' Union along the lines that you have just been discussing?

MRS. HARTLE. I remember quite a striking incident involving the Teamsters' Union in Spokane, too. The Teamsters' Union was on strike against the Davenport Hotel in Spokane, and this strike was supported by the Central Labor Council of Spokane, and a regular picket line was put on by the Teamsters' Union on the Davenport Hotel, but the Communists there worked for a mass picket line. They tried to prevail on the teamsters to have hundreds of persons participating in the picket line. All their own members and to get public support to it, but the Central Labor Council and the Teamsters' Union did not adopt this policy of trying to get a mass picket line.

However, the Communists were not satisfied when they could not convince the Teamsters' Union to do this; they decided to get at it in another way, and they used their influence in the Workers' Alliance to send a large delegation to participate in this picket line, and the delegation, of which I was a part, came up to the Davenport Hotel to try to join the picket line, and the officers of the Teamsters' Union, who were there with the picket line and on it, said that they didn't want to have us there, that we should go away, they didn't need us or want us on this picket line; so the answer of the Communists was, in which I participated, that they must want to lose the strike; they were selling out their workers and trying to lose the strike or they wouldn't turn down this help on their picket line.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. What year was this?

Mrs. HARTLE. It was in the middle 1930's.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further example of this area of conflict of union and Communist Party interests?

Mrs. HARTLE. I can think of another example, and it is in a different field.

Mr. KUNZIG. What field is it in?

Mrs. HARTLE. It is in the field of legislation and candidates in public office.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us your knowledge in that field, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is a bigger area of conflict here and there has been in the State of Washington, and it has been around the question of getting union support to political candidates that did not represent the union's basic philosophy toward our Government, basic attitudes toward our Government.

A Communist like Hugh DeLacy, Tom Rabbitt, or others—

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Hugh DeLacy to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe how and when you knew Hugh DeLacy to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew Hugh DeLacy as a member of the Communist Party from the time I came to Seattle until just before the middle 1940's. I knew him as a member of the district legislative committee which had joint meetings with the district board in the early 1940's.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know of your own personal knowledge whether he was a member of the Communist Party when he was a Member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I am sure that he was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that known to the people of this State?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I don't believe it was.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he a member of the underground at that time, or an open member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was a member at large.

Mr. SCHERER. What does that mean? Tell us.

Mrs. HARTLE. It is an individually attached member to some officer or other member of the Communist Party for the purpose of concealment of membership.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there any other testimony that you wish to give about Hugh DeLacy at this moment?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not that I can think of.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you mentioned also Tom Rabbitt, the senator whom you mentioned a moment ago, the State senator. Would you continue, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Tom Rabbitt was a State senator.

Do you wish me to give you more about Tom Rabbitt?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, please.

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party from the time that I came to Seattle in 1942 until I left in 1950. I knew him as a member of the district committee during a considerable part of this time and as a member of the district board of the Communist Party for one part of this time.



Mr. SCHERER. Was he an open member or a member at large, as you have just described a member at large to be?

Mrs. HARTLE. He is not an open member—not an open member.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he a member at large?

Mrs. HARTLE. At one time he was a member at large and at another time a member of the branch that was a sort of branch at large on its own.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he a member at the time you went underground in 1950, or don't you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, to the best of my knowledge, he was.

Mr. VELDE. And what occupation did he have other than politics?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't know what other occupation he had. He was an officer, a paid officer in the Progressive Party for a while, and he had been in other similar jobs. I don't know of any other line of work except being an organizer for this kind of work.

Mr. SCHERER. When was he State senator, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't recall the exact year that he was State senator.

Mr. SCHERER. Approximately how long ago was it?

Mrs. HARTLE. It was right around the beginning of the 1940's—late 1930's and early 1940's.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, you started a sentence saying that a Communist like Hugh DeLacy, Tom Rabbitt, or others—then you were interrupted. Would you comment and finish that thought that you had?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. Such candidates masquerading as Democrats, that is, running on the Democratic ticket would get support on the basis—from unions they would get support on the basis of supporting certain union measures and gain the political support, endorsement, and sometimes financial support. However, if elected, they would go into office to further the policies of the Communist Party and to work on the policies of the Communist Party that it was interested in. Many times when such policies became known to the union they were rejected by them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, in this country we always say that people can stand on their own feet and work at any political party or interest they wish and you would think that the Communists might put forth and they do put forth their candidates to fight for election, probably as it is done in our democratic system. How could the Communists justify this concealment of Communist Party membership?

Mrs. HARTLE. This concealment is explained by the Communist Party as being justifiable on the ground that the workers are not fully aware of their own interests, and are not fully aware of how to fight for their own interests, and the promise is made that when the workers get to know all about the Communist Party they will highly approve of it and give the support without concealment. This is the line of the Communist Party. All this is done in the best interests of the workers and the people, and later on when they find out all about the Communist Party and fully understand all its theory, they will be mighty happy that they have been fooled this way and that is very important.

Mr. CLARDY. Hitler used the same general idea in Germany, didn't he? He knew best what was good for the people, better than they did.

Mrs. HARTLE. The end justifies the means is an argument that is very regularly used in the Communist Party—the end justifies the means.



Mr. KUNZIG. I think this morning you are giving the people an opportunity of learning just what the Communist Party means.

Mrs. HARTLE. My own opinion is that the American workers and trade-union members will reject any such manipulating around with their destinies and interests, and I certainly advise them to stay out of the Communist Party, and to keep the Communist Party out of the unions.

Mr. SCHERER. And the more knowledge they have of the operation of the party, as you are telling us about it here today, the sooner will be that rejection and the more effective will be that rejection, will it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe that that is exactly what will happen—the more knowledge that organized labor has about the Communist Party, the less they will care to have anything to do with it.

Mr. SCHERER. And they will be able to recognize it as it attempts to operate within the union.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to turn now, Mrs. Hartle, to a different subject and a very vital subject, a very important subject in the country today and always, and that is the subject of how successful Communist Party infiltration has been, if any, in the field of religion, amongst the clergy, I mean, and the ministers in the area in which you are familiar. Could we discuss now for a brief period of time in your testimony this field of religion, and would you give the committee the benefit of your knowledge on this subject?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. What I have to give to the question of religion is really not so much practical or practice, as it is theory.

The reason for that is that the Communist Party position and activities in the field of religion are very, very small and have a quite different nature than from say, the trade-union field.

In the theory of the Communist Party, dialectical materialism is the world concept of Marxism-Leninism. That is the world concept, and it is considered to be scientific, superior to any other explanation of the world that has ever been developed, superior to all religions and all philosophies. It contends that matter is real and that spirit, though its ideas are forms of matter—the brain is defined as the organ of thought—and ideas of any kind, including religious ideas are forms of matter, according to this dialectical materialism.

But it is also pointed out that not all ideas are right; some ideas are wrong and do not correspond with reality.

I have not been able to solve that one and explain it to anybody, not even while I was a Communist.

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Hartle, I do not want you to go into a long, detailed explanation of dialectical materialism. We might be here for the next 6 months. But could you explain generally whether the theory of dialectical materialism is similar in any respect, at least, to atheism?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; it is similar in many respects in that it does not recognize a supreme being of any kind. But it has a great deal more tacked on to it that makes it dissimilar.

Mr. SCHERER. I would really be interested in hearing what she has to say. She is doing so well.

Mr. VELDE. All right, if you want to say a few more words about this concept that the Communists preach on dialectical materialism, I

think it would be interesting to the committee. We have had quite a little testimony on it.

(At this point Mr. Jackson returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. SCHERER. You have been on this committee so much longer, Mr. Chairman. I am just a freshman and I would like to be educated, myself.

Mr. VELDE. All right; if you will proceed, please.

Mrs. HARTLE. According to the Communist theory, historical materialism is dialectical materialism applied to the sphere of social science, to the history of the world in which we live, and dialectical materialism is not considered to be ordinary materialism; it is a materialism that is based on the idea that the only constant thing in the world is change, and this dialectical materialism is made up of Philosopher Hegel—part from the philosopher, Hegel, and part from the philosopher, Feuerbach, and it is quite an involved matter, I assure you.

And I believe that you could talk about it for quite a long time. It is awfully hard to understand. It takes you a long time to master that.

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt at that point, Mr. Chairman, to ask a blunt question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. In the philosophy of the dialectical materialism of the Communist Party in the United States, what place is there for a divine being or God or a supreme being, or whatever you want to call it?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is none.

Mr. DOYLE. There is what?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is no place for a supreme being or for God.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand that a man or woman in order to be a faithful Communist has to eliminate the possibility of there being a supreme being?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, no.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I shape my question so as to confuse you? I didn't mean to.

Mrs. HARTLE. No; it doesn't confuse me. It is that the Communist Party's position on the whole thing is quite confusing and quite deceptive. The Communist Party's position is that religious ideas and sentiment should not be combated head on, but that people, as people learn about dialectical and historical materialism as they come into the party and as they learn about this scientific theory, they will supplant any harmful ideas that they have brought with them, any incorrect ideas; and it is not a head-on combating of religion in the Communist Party. There is no direct campaign for the spread of atheism in the Communist Party in the United States—no campaign for agnosticism. Any strong expressions along this line, strong atheist expressions are considered leftist—leftish—and that is the attitude of the Communist Party and the way it practices in the United States of America.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't the reason for this that the Communists experienced early in Russia that the religious ideals were so imbedded in the minds and hearts of people that they couldn't combat them head on? Therefore they learned that lesson, as I say, early, and have not opposed outwardly the religious beliefs of individuals because they may reject communism if they did? And as you point out, if they understand dialectical materialism, they will eventually lose their present religious beliefs.

Mrs. HARTLE. I was never told or never read in the Communist Party why this change of attitude was different in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. I had my own opinions on this subject. I thought they were correct Communist opinions—that in old Russia there was a state church and that this was an oppressive church, and that when Lenin and the other Bolshevik leaders were berating the church over there they weren't berating it so much for the religion part of it as for the oppressive part of it. That is what I believed as a Communist.

And that in this country, since there is no state church, since there is no religious oppression in our country, since there is religious freedom in our country, the Communist Party doesn't have to fight on this ground.

That was more or less the understanding that I had as a Communist.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Lenin himself was very blunt on the question of religion, wasn't he?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is true.

Mr. JACKSON. Lenin set forth that the spread of atheism must be their chief task. While that may not have been the practice as far as the party of the United States was concerned, that certainly would have been the doctrine of any dedicated Marxist, would it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Those words of Lenin are read by anyone attempting to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Sooner or later you come across them some place.

Mr. JACKSON. And in due course that would become a part of the philosophy or doctrine of a dedicated Marxist, would it not, if he took up the works of Lenin as his guide, as his general directive? It would seem to me that the words in themselves are unmistakable as to the intent of Lenin and the subsequent leaders of the Communist state with reference to religion generally.

Mr. SCHERER. But wasn't the Communist Party smart enough, Mr. Jackson, in the United States, to realize that they couldn't possibly sell, because as she said, we had religious freedom in this country—couldn't sell the masses on that doctrine of Lenin?

Mr. JACKSON. I think that is entirely possible.

Mr. SCHERER. And they avoided a head-on clash with the religious ideas of people in this country.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is the only explanation that I could possibly find as a Communist—was when Lenin and Marx talked about religion being the opium of the people and then to read what the Communist Party of the United States has to say and what I have been taught in school, the only way that I could figure it out was using a little of this dialectic.

You know every situation is different in every country, et cetera, et cetera, and what was really needed very badly in Russia was not needed so badly over here.

Mr. SCHERER. Rather than clash head on with the religious teachings of the people, they attempted by this dialectical materialism to neutralize the effect of religion upon the masses in this country?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.



Mr. CLARDY. They at least don't try to teach their members that they should be religious and go to church and should regard religion as something important? They don't do that, do they?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; the Communist Party worries very little about your ability to get to church, because the most important meetings and conferences always take place on Sunday, usually beginning at 10 a. m. and lasting until almost any time in the evening; so that the Communist Party worries very little about your being able to go to church or to meditate or for workers even to rest on Sunday.

Mr. JACKSON. During church hours is the time when the faithful are out peddling the Sunday Worker, isn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. It used to be Red Sunday in the early 1930's—Red Sunday is going out with Red literature. That practice has been somewhat abandoned.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, could you give us further information now on the Communist Party of the United States of America's position in this field of religion?

Mrs. HARTLE. People with religious beliefs may be and are recruited into the Communist Party, and they may retain their ideas for themselves as long as they do not evince themselves in any anti-Communist expressions.

I believe I have covered that religion, being the opium of the people, is always explained as pertaining to the situation of the Russian state church, the Greek Orthodox Church, and this makes it sound very strange to people and they can easily understand why Lenin opposed this strange-sounding church.

I have never heard a Communist combat the statement that communism is Christianity in practice, and that statement is often made by people.

But according to fundamental Communist theory, this is not correct; it is not correct, according to Communist theory, that communism is Christianity in practice.

(At this point Mr. Velde left the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party contends there is freedom of religion in Soviet Russia and that along with this freedom is also the freedom to be nonbelievers. That is the way it is explained in the Communist Party in the United States of America.

Now once in a while the question is put that there are big campaigns for atheism in Soviet Russia. But in the Communist Party no one talks about these campaigns. That is just reactionary propaganda that any such campaigns are taking place.

But the Communist Party does say that there is freedom of religion in Soviet Russia and there is freedom not to believe—it is freedom all the way around. That is the Communist Party of the United States of America's position.

Mr. SCHERER. They have avoided, for the reasons we have been talking about, a frontal assault upon the church?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is exactly correct. There is no frontal assault on the church or religion.

Mr. SCHERER. The attempt is to infiltrate and, as I said before, neutralize the effect of religion on the masses?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is true. And I believe that many people can be successfully deceived by this deceptive method.



Mr. SCHERER. And there is no frontal assault upon the church because they understand, the Communist conspiracy is smart enough to understand, that they cannot succeed at the present moment with a frontal assault upon the church. If they felt that they could succeed, then there would be this frontal assault upon the church, as there was in the early days in Russia—the persecution of the priests, the burning and destruction of church property; that did not succeed in Russia, so they tried in the indirect method, as I understand it.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. All of the reasons for it I am really not able to give, but I do know that this is what the Communist Party does.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you estimate, please, the success of the Communist Party in this district, in this area, in the religious field?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, my estimate of that success is that Northwest district of the Communist Party has had almost no result in the religious field. There has been no organized attempt along this line in this district. From time to time on some front issue an effort has been made to interest ministers and other clergymen to back the issue along with some other people of standing in the community, but these contacts have now been followed up with the idea of recruiting into the Communist Party, like in other so-called mass or front work.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain to us this very interesting point involving front organizations? Are you suggesting that decent people of the community and ministers, who have not participated in any Communist Party activities, might be deluded into going along with their front without knowing what it is?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I certainly do mean to say that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain that in some detail, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, especially on what I would call their peace campaigns. Every so often there is a situation in history where the Communist Party becomes the party that is interested in peace instead of war; and especially when these campaigns are on the agenda, attempts will be made to get representatives of the clergy to sign peace petitions or peace declarations along the particular line of policy that the Communist Party is interested in.

The Communists know that religious leaders and church members are interested in peace and are devoted to it and often approach the clergy in order to hook them in on the basis that they really want peace, they want to find some way to have peace in the world, and the Communist offer looks presentable, it looks all right to them on the surface, and they will lend their names to it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any knowledge or any information involving an effort made in this area to involve ministers in the Rosenberg case?

Mrs. HARTLE. There was a considerable effort that I was able to see after I came back from Seattle of a Rosenberg committee attempting to get a lot of ministers to sign a petition protesting whatever particular stage that case was in, and I overheard some discussion of people whom I had formerly known as Communists that something went amiss, somebody put a lot of names down and then it seems that they were not consulted and that the ministers, some of them, repudiated and others had not signed.

At least, what I got out of what I heard was that the Rosenberg committee was trying pretty hard to get a lot of ministers to back up the Rosenberg case and had had some success.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does the Communist Party attach any significance to expressions about civil liberties, and so forth, made by men of good will?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it does attach quite a great deal of significance to expressions about civil liberties or on the question of peace, and especially of course—not especially, but when these expressions tied into the Communists' hands and into the hands of their policy. These expressions will then be reprinted in the Communist press and be quoted by Communist leaders as evidence of the broad support to the issue and will be used to brace up the spirits of the members many times, giving them the feeling that many people believe in this issue and are strong for it—"We are right in being for it," and "You, as a Communist, are right in being for it, too."

It is one of the things, I might as well mention here, as some place else, that this whole deceptive program of the Communist Party deceives especially its own new members, as well as it does the public, and sometimes the older ones, too.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire on that point?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, every now and then the press will carry stories from some religious organizations attacking this committee or attacking other committees investigating the subject of communism and Communists.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. I wonder if you have any knowledge as to whether or not efforts by the Communist Party to stir up that sort of thing took place out here? We found it in a number of other places.

Mrs. HARTLE. I do know here that as the district leader of the Communist Party I have used and I have heard other district leaders use statements by church organizations attacking the Velde committee as proof of the inequity of the Velde committee undermining the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and our democratic form of government, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Then when a national church figure or any group of churchmen, and conceivably in all innocence, attacks, let us say, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, there is general rejoicing among the Communists, is that the case?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is rejoicing, and it quite fully utilized.

Mr. JACKSON. And reprinted and broadcast to the extent possible?

Mrs. HARTLE. Reprinted and used in speeches and sometimes it is reprinted in thousands of little folders and distributed around.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any specific examples of that that you could quote to the committee?

Mrs. HARTLE. Offhand I cannot think of a specific example, but I do know that the Daily Worker and the Peoples World, the Northwest edition, will have a number of examples of just this type of thing, where they have reprinted such statements by clergymen or church groups, and of course the same thing is done if a labor group does the same thing.

Mr. JACKSON. Or any other group?

Mrs. HARTLE. Or any other group. As long as that plays in the Communist Party policy, and in this case, of course, the Communist Party opposes this committee because it exposes their aims and activities.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that most of what you have been telling is originates with the Communist Party, the basic statements, the basic attacks upon the investigating committees of Congress?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I think that most of the attacks do.

Mr. SCHERER. And then other well-meaning people sometimes parrot those statements.

Mrs. HARTLE. I think that is correct—that most of the attacks originate from the Communist Party, but some of them don't; some of them don't.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. J. Edgar Hoover recently said something along this line. I will not attempt to use his exact language, but he said that good people—and, of course, we must include the clergy and the ministry in that—but good people many times better serve the Communist cause than the Communists can do themselves, because of the cloak of respectability which surrounds them.

Would you agree that Mr. Hoover is right in that connection?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that can be true; that is true in some situations.

Mr. CLARDY. Would it be your thought then that all people, all good people especially, be supercareful before they begin taking the anti-anti-Communist line, so to speak; in other words, look before they leap into that sort of thing for fear that they may be doing exactly what Mr. Hoover has pointed out—help the Communists more than the Communists can help themselves?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, it would seem that all peoples should pay very close attention to what they do politically or they may run into very grievous error, and I don't know of any better example than myself.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I join this philosophical discussion by reading a paragraph from the Communist manifesto published in 1848? It is very short. I quote it as quoted from the same American Bar Association booklet which I have referred to before this morning. It is quoted from a booklet of the Communist Party entitled "Toward a Soviet America," published in 1932 by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, in which he said:

The Soviet court system will be simple, speedy, and direct. The judges chosen by the corresponding Soviets will be responsible to them. The Supreme Court, instead of being dictatorial and virtually legislative, as in the United States, will be purely juridical and entirely under the control of the central executive committee. The civil and criminal code will be simplified, the aim being to proceed directly and quickly to a correct decision. In the acute stages of the revolutionary struggle special courts to fight the counter-revolution will probably be necessary. The pests of lawyers will be abolished—

That means me

the courts will be class courts, definitely warring against the class enemies of the toilers. They will make no hypocrisy like capitalist courts, courts which, while pretending to deal out equal justice to all classes, in reality are instruments of the capitalist state for the repression and exploitation of the toiling masses.

Mr. JACKSON. That spells trouble for the committee and for the witness comes the revolution.

Mr. DOYLE. And for the lawyers.

Mr. JACKSON. And for the lawyers.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.



Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, can you give us the names of any of the people whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party who were ministers in this area? And I want you to be specific. If they did not have churches, for example, let us be very sure that we get that into the record.

Mrs. HARTLE. I can recall only 3 persons who were ministers ever being a member of the Communist Party in this whole district, and those 3 persons, none of them had a church or were practicing in a church.

Mr. KUNZIG. But they were ministers?

Mrs. HARTLE. But they were ministers.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, do I understand that your testimony is that none of these three ministers, as you have described them, were active in the ministry in any way?

Mrs. HARTLE. None of them were active in the ministry.

Mr. DOYLE. How long had it been since any of them had been active in any branch of the ministry?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't know how long.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I just want to preface Mrs. Hartle's remark by making it clear in my own thinking that I would hesitate to classify a person as a minister unless he was a minister.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think, Mr. Doyle, we made that very clear, and I preface my remarks by saying that if they had no church it should be clearly mentioned, and it was mentioned that they had no churches, but the witness has said that they were ministers and I think she will state that there were ministerial functions connected with them in the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question of the witness? Is it known to you personally whether or not these three people or any that you are about to mention were ever actually ordained as ministers of the Gospel, or did they just assume their name "minister" or "reverend," if you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. Then, Mr. Chairman, if the witness does not know that they were ever actually ordained ministers, I hesitate about the propriety of having the witness attempt to identify them as ministers of the Gospel for the purpose of this hearing.

Mr. SCHERER. Let her identify them as individuals and tell what they did.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that is the proper course of action. Let us hear the testimony relative to their activities within the Communist Party and then perhaps we can arrive at some resolution.

Mr. DOYLE. Manifestly, the purpose of my question and statement was to get at the facts, whatever they are, before the witness testifies. I just assumed from the way she started that she was identifying them as ministers, which apparently is not the fact so far as her knowledge is concerned.

Mr. JACKSON. Let us proceed to hear the testimony of the witness on this point and we will see what develops from that testimony.

Mr. CLARDY. We don't want to overlook the fact that we have already had testimony that the Communist Party has selected individuals and has had them go through theological seminaries and actually take positions as preachers. As you know, we have had them

identified in past hearings. Perhaps these might fall in that same category, I don't know.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please, giving the names—the three names that you started mentioning?

Mrs. HARTLE. The persons whom I have known who have represented themselves to me and to others as ministers were Reverend Clinton Redwell, who was a Negro minister and lived in the Duwamish Bend housing project.

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time was this that you knew Reverend Redwell?

Mrs. HARTLE. That was in the period of about the middle 1940's—around the last part of the war, right after the war.

(At this point Mr. Velde returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he the man you mentioned to me that actually and quite surprisingly enough gave prayers at some times in Communist meetings?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; he did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you describe that, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. He thought it was a good idea to start the Communist Party branch meeting with a prayer, and he did so on several occasions, and there were no objections from anyone there—any of the other Communists and none from myself on him doing so.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. With respect to this gentleman, it seems that Mr. Doyle is correct. It sounds like he is one of those self-annointed ministers.

Mrs. HARTLE. I am not aware of what the situation might be. He represented himself to me and to others as a minister and used the name Reverend Redwell.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand. This is not a criticism of the witness on may part at all.

Mr. DOYLE. Or on mine, either.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you continue with the other two, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Another minister that I knew of his being in the Communist Party was a Reverend King, a member of the Stadium Homes housing project branch. He was also a Negro minister, and I knew of his membership through an officer of the branch there who told me about it, and said there they were having a great deal of difficulty in integrating him into the Communist Party; although he belonged to it and he was having much difficulty in being integrated into any activity.

Mr. SCHERER. What did he do for a living besides claiming to be a minister?

Mrs. HARTLE. I understood that he was working in the shipyards. That is what I understood at the time—that he was not an acting minister because he was working in the shipyards during the labor shortage during the war.

Mr. KUNZIG. He had no church, did he?

Mrs. HARTLE. He had no church.

Mr. SCHERER. I think he also belonged to the same classification that Mr. Doyle mentioned.

Mrs. HARTLE. And the only other person that I ever knew that was a minister and used the title "Reverend" in the Communist Party was Rev. L. H. Edmiston, and I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in a club in the 43d legislative district when I first came to Seattle. I have attended branch meetings and I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in Seattle up until around the middle 1940's, at which time he went to Tacoma, and I believe that is where he is now living—in Tacoma.

Mr. SCHERER. Then in conclusion, in discussing this field, it would be correct to say, would it not, that the Communist Party attempts to infiltrate religion, the Communist Party's efforts to get any ministers to do the work of religion as Communist Party members, has been infinitesimal in the area with which you are acquainted?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is quite correct.

Mr. VELDE. And, Mrs. Hartle, I have not heard all of your testimony on this subject, but were either of the so-called ministers that you identified ordained ministers?

Mrs. HARTLE. None of them were.

Oh, excuse me. I thought you meant practicing. I don't know whether they were ordained or not; I don't know enough about their background to know that.

Mr. VELDE. But at the time you knew them as Communists they had no church, had they?

Mrs. HARTLE. They had no church.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Did any or all of them perform any of the usual functions of the ministry, such as burials or worse yet, marriages?

Mr. SCHERER. One of them made ships.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, it occurs to me, if anyone was married by them, they had better investigate their present status. It might be a little uncertain or indefinite.

But do you know whether or not they did perform the functions of the ministry?

Mrs. HARTLE. The only functions of the ministry that I am acquainted with with either of these three persons is that Reverend Redwell said prayers in our branch meetings and that Reverend Edmiston said funeral sermons sometimes for the Washington Old Age Pension Union. And those are the only activities along those lines that I am acquainted with.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mrs. Hartle, isn't it a fact that the Communist Party made no effort to enlist the members of the clergy in the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is a fact. I think that if you wish my opinion or understanding on that—it is that to recruit ministers into the Communist Party is considered a pretty unfruitful proposition.

Mr. SCHERER. They work through front organizations, do they not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Rather they work through fronts because—well, to put it very bluntly, the Communist Party will tell you that a member as a minister can be an awful headache, especially if he is still a minister.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, before we close for the lunch hour, there are a few questions that I want to cover, a few identifications that I want to go into.



Did you ever know a Dr. Richard L. Nelson as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his profession?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was a dentist.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you tell us where he lives or any further identifying facts about him?

Mrs. HARTLE. He lives, I believe, in Kirkland, Wash. He has his dental office there and practices there.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you know him to be a member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I have known him to be a member of the Communist Party from at least the middle 1940's up to the time that I left Seattle in 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you tell us any of his activities in the party or what he did?

Mrs. HARTLE. Some of his activities in the party, I know, were in the legislative field, in election campaigns or supporting candidates, the type of work like in the Progressive Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you knew Dr. Richard L. Nelson, of your own knowledge, to be a Communist Party member?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Jeremiah William Tyler?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him to be a Communist Party member. I knew him as a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party in the latter part of the 1940's and as being a leading person or officer in one of the maritime unions.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any address or any further identifying features?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, I don't know how else to further try to identify him except to describe him, because I did not know where he lived. The waterfront section meetings were held probably downtown. Some of them were held at my own house. But where he lived——

Mr. KUNZIG. He was in your own house then, was he?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; he has been in my house.

Mr. KUNZIG. As a Communist Party member at meetings?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. At closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Closed meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he give street speeches and things of that type?

Mrs. HARTLE. He did speak at the Communist organized street meetings down here at about Main and Occidental—the ones organized by the waterfront section.

However, it is my understanding that he didn't speak there as a Communist but as a representative of his union.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that the people not knowing of course that he was a Communist, but thinking he was there as a union man.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. But he was doing the work of the Communist Party, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Margaret Backlund Irving?

Mrs. HARTLE. I do not know about the Irving part of it, but I did know a Margaret Backlund. Margaret Backlund was a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party in Seattle, was an

officer in that section. She lived at the same address that I did for a time in about 1947 on Beacon Hill, lived in the same house that I did, the same apartment building that I did, and I knew her well as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Robert Plumb?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I knew him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. What activity in the Communist Party did he specialize in?

Mrs. HARTLE. About the time that I left Seattle and for some time before that, he was a section organizer in the north King region of the Communist Party. Before that, he was a member of the Communist Party in the south King region and lived in West Seattle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he have anything to do with youth organizing, to your knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Lenzie Shellman?

Mrs. HARTLE. Lenzie Shellman I knew as a member of the Communist Party. He was a member in the central region of the Communist Party. He was a Negro member. I knew him also as a Communist in the machinists' union.

Mr. KUNZIG. What period of time would you say this was, Mrs. Hartle?

Mrs. HARTLE. This was in the period just before I left Seattle.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that, so that we may get the record straight.

Mrs. HARTLE. 1948—1949—50.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I have one more name here. Edward Friel.

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party from the time that I came to Seattle, and as far as I know, he was still a member when I left in 1950. I knew him when I first came to Seattle as a functionary, because I attended functionaries' meetings with him at that time. I knew him in about 1943 as a full-time organizer for the industrial section of the Communist Party for a period of about a year.

I have known him as being a member of the painters' branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. I should like before we recess for the noon hour to say again that if anyone within the sound of my voice has been mentioned by Mrs. Hartle and cares to come in to this committee and admit, deny, or explain the facts as testified to by Mrs. Hartle, they are certainly invited to do so.

Also, if there has been any mistake in identity in any case whatsoever, we would appreciate the persons affected getting in touch with our counsel or a member of our staff so that the matter may be straightened out.

Now, do the members have anything else before we recess?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I have one very short paragraph which I think it would be very appropriate to read. It again quotes Mr. Lenin on page 11 of the booklet referred to. I quote:

We are living not merely in a state but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with the imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove it also by military organization.

I think it is very appropriate to read that into the record and **for** the hearing of our listeners, in view of the statement made by the witness on the Duclos letter.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

With that, the committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon at 11:49 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Testimony taken in the afternoon session on this day is printed in pt. 4 of this series.





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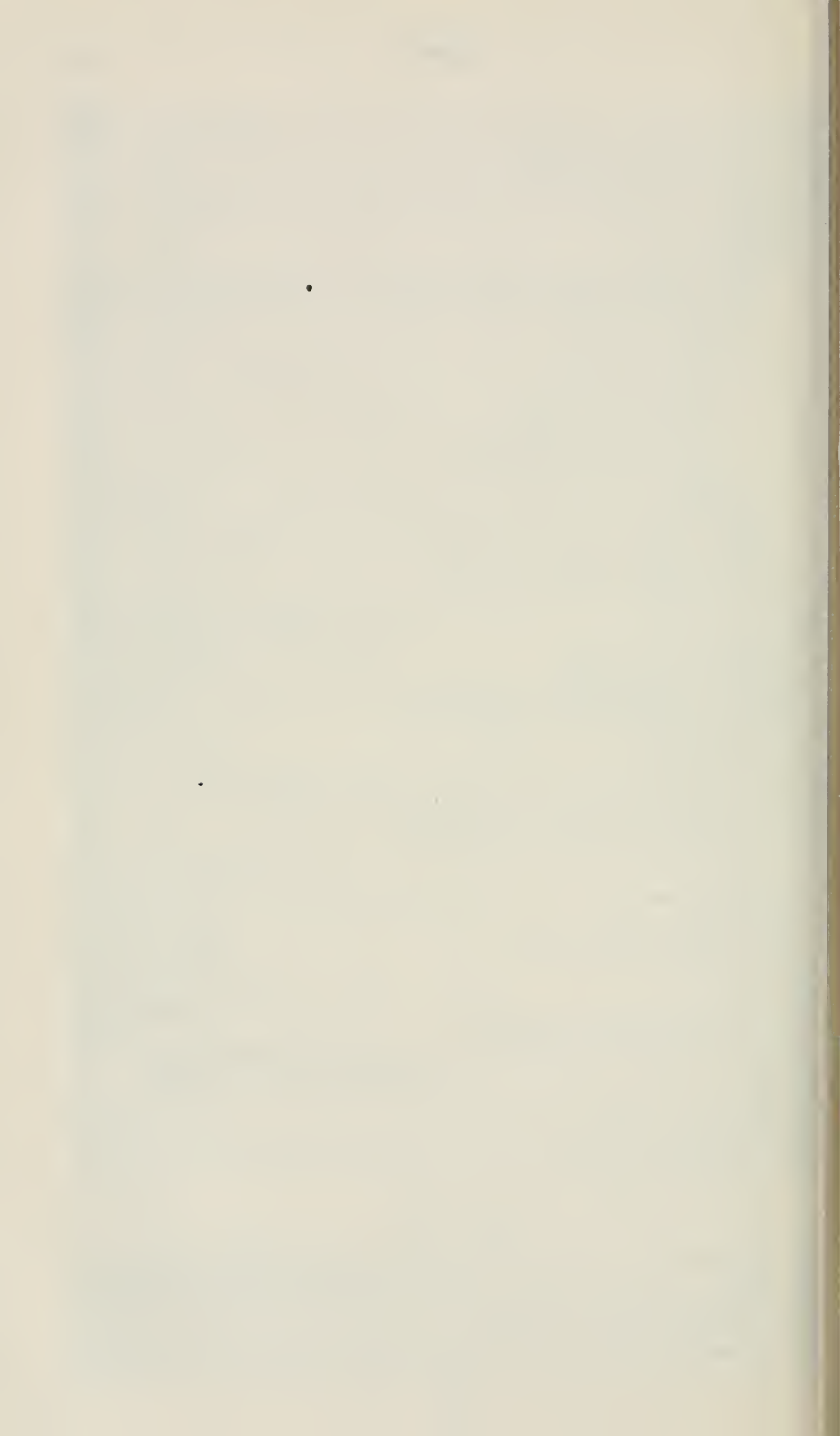
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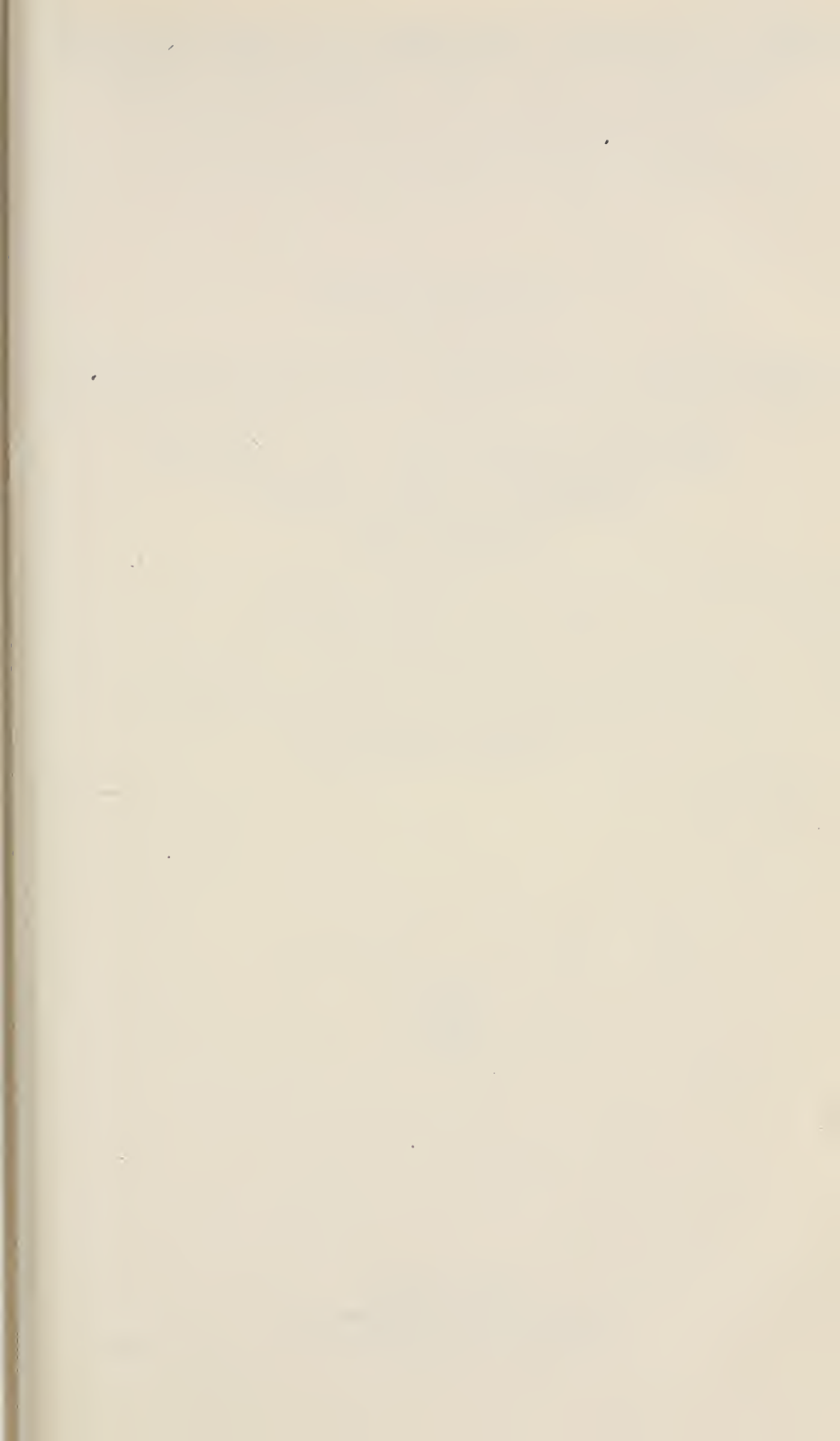


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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 3 (SEATTLE)  
(Testimony of Barbara Hartle—Sec. 2)

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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JUNE 16, 17, 18, AND 19, 1954

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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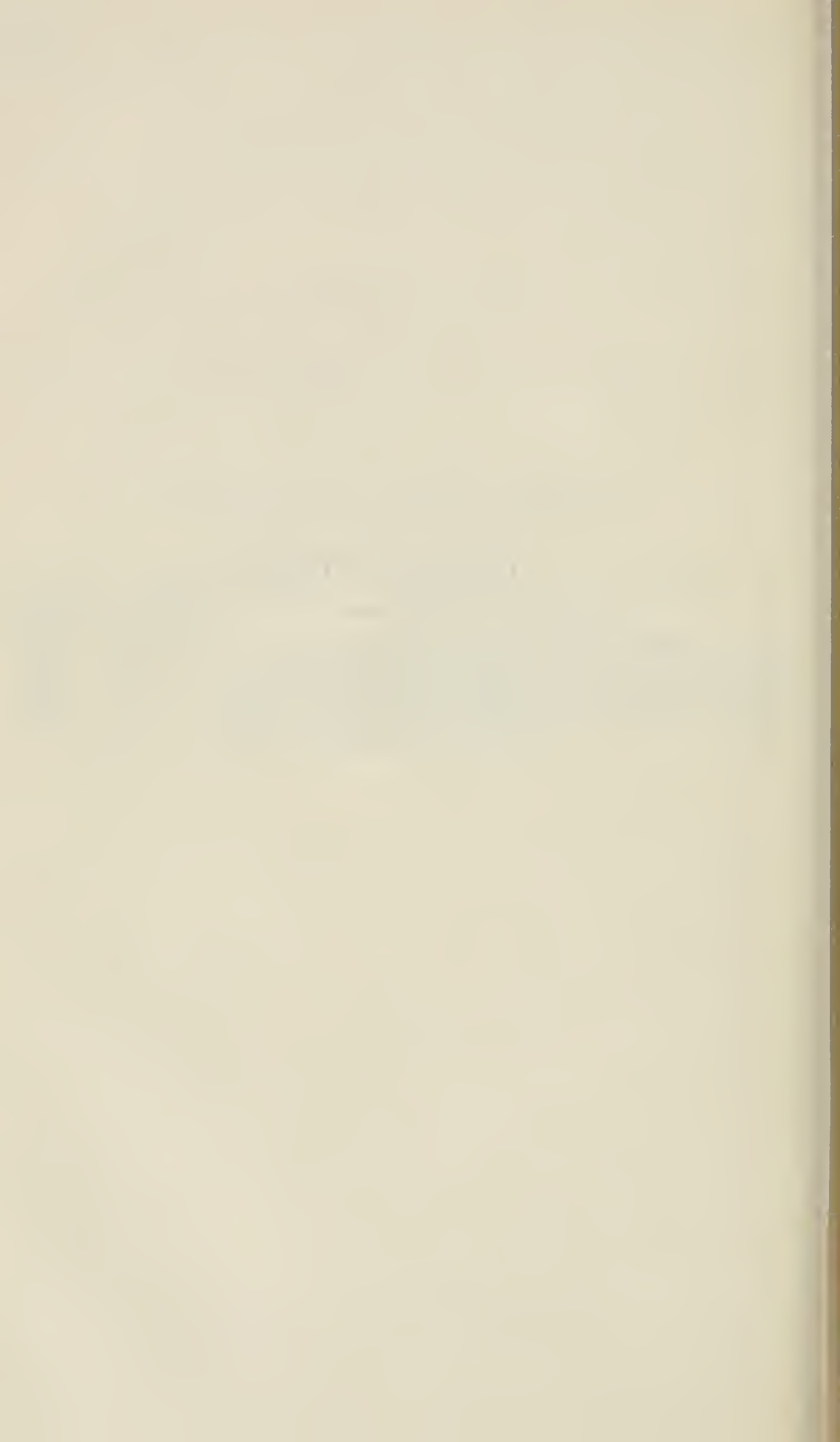
RAPHAEL I. NIXON, *Director of Research*

COURTNEY E. OWENS, *Chief Investigator*

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 3 (SEATTLE)  
Testimony of Barbara Hartle--Sec. 2

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Seattle, Wash.*

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities continued its hearing at 9:40 a. m. in room 402, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash., Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk.

(Testimony of Lenzie Shellman and John Robert Plumb, heard prior to Mrs. Hartle, is printed in pt. 5.)

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED BY  
SPECIAL UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHAL DOROTHEA HALL

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, may we continue the testimony that you have been giving for the last 2 days?

I would like to ask you this question: Did you ever know anyone in the Communist Party by the name of Caughlan?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you please give the committee the benefit of your knowledge about Mr. Caughlan and explain in detail who he is, his position, his address, if you know, and so forth?

Mrs. HARTLE. For at least 5 years before I came to Seattle in 1942, I had gained the impression from reading the Communist press and from reports made by Morris Rappaport on his visits to the Spokane Communist Party meetings that John Caughlan was a close follower of the Communist Party line. I had viewed him in those days as an extremely able leader in the field of the mass activity of the Communist Party.

After I came to Seattle, Andrew Remes, who was acting district organizer at that time—

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him, of course, to be a member of the Communist Party, did you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. And a member of the Communist Party—informed me that I should file for divorce from my husband, John Hartle, the reason being the Communist Party was planning on running me in an election campaign as a candidate.

I never found out why the divorce was necessary, but accepted fully that Remes was giving me wise direction; and Remes secured the services of John Caughlan for me for my divorce and also once he interceded with Caughlan in order to get him to speed it up.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever meet Caughlan at Communist Party meetings?

Mrs. HARTLE. I later met with Caughlan at a Communist election campaign meeting in the New World office in 1944. This meeting was concerned mainly with support to the election campaign of Hugh DeLacy for Congress—his first election campaign.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, let us make this clear, Mrs. Hartle. Was this a Communist meeting or could it by any chance have been a Washington Commonwealth Federation meeting?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; it could not have been a Washington Commonwealth Federation meeting or else I would not have been present. After I became a full-time organizer for the Communist Party, I was no longer a member of the WCF nor on its executive board or election campaign committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that there is no doubt in your mind that this meeting was a meeting of Communists?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, there is no doubt in my mind at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you continue, please, concerning Mr. Caughlan?

Mrs. HARTLE. I have also been present at a King County Communist Party functionary meeting at which John Caughlan and Barry Hatten spoke as attorneys for the Communist Party, giving advice on what to do about the Canwell committee subpoenas.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Mr. Hatten to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I did not.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you are just saying that he was there at this particular meeting you are talking about?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you don't know Hatten as a member of the party but you do know Caughlan is a member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to make sure that the record is very clear on that point.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. In about 1948 Ralph Hall reported to the Communist Party district staff meeting that John Caughlan was circulating rumors about him that he, Hall, was an FBI agent or working with the FBI. After the discussion, Ralph Hall filed charges against Caughlan.

Later at another staff meeting, it was reported by Hall that Caughlan had backed down—that he, Hall, had been able to prove by some means that Caughlan had based his charges on a document that was false, that Hall was able to disprove whatever this document was was not valid and that Caughlan had to withdraw his charges.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now was it customary to bring charges against people within the Communist Party, charges against anyone who was not a member of the Communist Party?



Mrs. HARTLE. No, that has not been customary in the Communist Party for one member to file charges against a person outside of the Communist Party. I do remember at the time that I first joined the Communist Party that that practice was talked about. I don't know of it ever being used; but I know of it being talked about, that it is possible for the party to file charges against a non-Communist. But in all of my activity in the Communist Party I have never known of such charges being filed, excepting against a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. And to conclude this portion of your testimony, there is no question in your mind whatsoever, sitting here testifying before your Congress under oath, that Caughlan was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, there is no doubt in my mind.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Did that membership continue up until the time that you went underground in 1950?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. I have no knowledge as to how long that membership continued.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the latest date that you know of?

Mrs. HARTLE. Of which I have personal, definite concrete knowledge—is the meeting in 1944, the election campaign meeting, and then the charges that were filed by Hall in about 1948. Those are concrete proof of membership.

Mr. SCHERER. And whether Mr. Caughlan is a member of the Communist Party today you do not know?

Mrs. HARTLE. That I do not know.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question on that point?

You say that Hall filed charges. Where did he file those charges? With whom?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am sure that he filed them with the district review commission, but I was not there and did not see that; but he reported the filing of the charges to a district staff meeting.

Mr. DOYLE. A district meeting of what? Was it a legislative body of public officials or was it a Communist Party board or a committee that these charges were filed with? Was it the Democratic Party or the Republican Party or the Communist Party or what?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Here in Seattle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Here in Seattle. The staff was composed of the officers, the full time functionaries of the Communist Party in the office.

Mr. DOYLE. And were you on that committee?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I was.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever see those charges in writing, do you remember?

Mrs. HARTLE. I heard them read.

Mr. DOYLE. You heard them read where?

Mrs. HARTLE. In the office of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Where was that office of the Communist Party—in Seattle at that time?

Mrs. HARTLE. The office was on First Avenue. I have forgotten the address.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you remember who else was present at the time those charges were read?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am sure that Henry Huff was present, that I was present, that Ralph Hall was present. Those three I am certain of and remember.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I have asked those specific questions about the time and place and who were present for the benefit of the attorney. I understand Mr. Caughlan was an attorney here yesterday or the day before with one or more of the witnesses, and I felt that as a member of the bar he should have the benefit of my going further into this question so that he might have knowledge by reason of this witness' statement under oath of what charges they were, where they were claimed to be filed and who was claimed to be present. I did that for his benefit as well as the benefit of the committee, so that it gives him an opportunity to know more in detail what is said about him as a member of the bar.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I think while we are taking it for granted, I don't think it is clearly in the record that the attorney Caughlan that you are talking about is the attorney that appeared on behalf of several witnesses before this committee in this session. Is that the fact?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I believe that is the fact, but I have not seen him on television or in the room.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you turn around and look at the gentleman standing up against the wall there and tell us if that is the man you have in mind?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is the man that I have in mind.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, this morning in the testimony of one of the witnesses who appeared here previously, various parrotings of what this committee has come to recognize as the Communist Party line were made concerning the position of the Negro.

I would like to ask you if you would go into this in some detail, explaining to this committee—giving us the benefit of your knowledge on the position of the Communist Party with regard to the Negro in America.

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party of the U. S. A.'s theoretical position on the Negro question is based on the international Communist position on the national question, and Joseph Stalin was the main formulator of the national question in the international Communist movement.

According to Stalin, a nation is a stable community of people, historically evolved, having a community of territory, language, economic ties, and psychological makeup manifested in a community of culture. A nation, according to this theory, must have all of these characteristics, and if one of them is absent the people are not a full-blown nation. If a people do have all these characteristics, then according to communistic theory they have the right to self-determination, the right to determine their own destiny and should have equal rights along with all other nations large and small.

According to the Communist theory, the right to self-determination, however, does not decide in advance how this right is to be exercised.

For example, in teaching Marxism-Leninism, the example of Fin-

land is often used. It is said that Soviet Russia could have retained Finland and forced it into the Socialist path, but since the people of Finland were evidently not of a mind to take this path that Russia, under Communist leadership, accorded Finland the right to separate and pursue its own path, even though Soviet Russia considered this path to be of disadvantage to the Finnish people, and of course, obviously, to Soviet Russia.

Here the Communists say that they fully rely on the principle of the right of self-determination of a nation. From this it follows that those nations that are in the U. S. S. R. are there of their own accord. This approach is a part of the united front technique of communism.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the position of the Communist Party here in the United States of America on this Negro question?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party in the United States used to have a wrong position on the Negro question, but at a Comintern meeting in about 1929 it was decided that the Negro people in the black belt of the South are a nation, and this position was adopted by the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

A great deal of theoretical work had to be done in the Communist Party of this country before this question was fully understood and soundly adopted, and even after that, during the Browder period, it was again on this question that the Communist Party of the U. S. A. strayed completely off the correct path, that is, the so-called correct path of Marxism-Leninism.

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Hartle, I don't like to interrupt you but I have just been handed a circular together with a booklet that is being circulated by the North King County Communist Party, Post Office Box 813, Seattle Wash. This is dated as late as May 26, 1954, and I should like to read the circular into the record at this point and then ask you a few questions about it.

Today it is imperative that all Americans who are sincerely concerned about the grave difficulties facing our country join hands in reaching areas of agreement. It is in this spirit and as a first step that we are enclosing for your consideration a copy of a newly published draft program of the Communist Party. We especially call to your attention the section entitled, "What Has To Be Done on the Road Ahead," starting on page 15 of the program, which deals with key problems arising in the coming election period. Your expression of constructive criticism of this program is earnestly solicited and we urge, if you desire to do so, that you communicate your suggestion and ideas to us at the address given below.

Sincerely, North King County Communist Party, Post Office Box 813, Seattle, Wash.

Enclosed is a pamphlet entitled "The American Way." It is a draft program of the Communist Party.

I cannot help but mention, too, that on the back of this booklet is a series of other pamphlets advertised, such as New Opportunities in the Fight for Peace and Democracy.

At the bottom of the back page is the advice that you should buy the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker, "labor's own fighting newspapers which battle daily for jobs, peace, and democracy, defend all labor interests, champion equal rights for Negro people," and those are published by Free Press, 35 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

I am bringing this to the attention of the record and to the attention of the people who are interested, because many people today think that the Communist Party is no longer organized or sufficiently organized.



Certainly we members of the committee know that the organization is still strong.

I want to ask you, Mrs. Hartle, if the Communist Party is still organized in this Northwest section as a party.

Mrs. HARTLE. I would gather from the circulation of that material that it would be still organized, but I have no personal knowledge—I mean, I have had no personal contact with Communists as Communists for some period of time.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, I understand that.

Mrs. HARTLE. I have no doubt in my mind that the Communist Party is still organized.

Mr. VELDE. I want to note also, in line with the testimony that you are giving at the present time, that in this pamphlet, which is issued by the Communist Party, one of the sections deals with what should be done with the Negro people. I have not had the opportunity to read that section yet, but I presume that it is very much along the lines that you have been giving this committee in a very fine way.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Not to further interrupt the train of thought of the witness but in line with the continuing organization of the Communist Party, that it has long been the policy of the party to establish echelons of leadership to insure that the party would continue to function under any given set of circumstances, including the indictment of any echelon of leadership under Smith Act charges, that is, in case they were convicted there were others ready to move into the position of leadership and so on down the line; is that not the fact?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is the case. Such precautions and preparations were made in the Communist Party before I left it.

Mr. JACKSON. Further, the committee has abundant testimony to indicate that such precautions were taken to insure the continuing functioning of the party, putting away or aside of mimeographed materials, of things that might be required in the event that the party was actually and legally forced to go underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; such preparations were also made.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I just wanted to add to what you said in referring to that pamphlet, the American Way, we might call attention to the people out here that it isn't just a local distribution here. If you received one, as I did, it was accompanied by a letter with Communist Party insignia at the top and signed among others by William Z. Foster, and frankly soliciting the Communist Party membership of everyone to whom it was sent.

I have talked to a number of Congressmen. I have talked to a great many newspaper men and others and find that it has been generally circulated all over the country. I remarked on that merely to demonstrate that Mr. Jackson is correct and that they are extremely anxious and are apparently starting on a nationwide membership campaign right now in circulating this.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't mean that you got one through the mail, too?



Mr. CLARDY. I sure did. I got two of them, as a matter of fact. And the taxpayer is paying for that distribution, because it comes under second-class mailing privileges. I got a bill to make them at least pay first-class postage.

Mr. VELDE. I want to stress the fact that even though these gentlemen receive such trash in the mail, they don't have any connection with the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. I am glad you made that clear.

Mr. VELDE. I want to say that as far as the person who handed me this is concerned, I am satisfied that that person is perfectly loyal.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Doyle, they didn't slight you and fail to put you on the mailing list, did they?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; they did.

Mr. Chairman, apropos of what the committee membership just brought to the attention of Mrs. Hartle, I think Mrs. Hartle that you yourself testified yesterday, did you not, that when you went underground and became a waitress under an assumed name, you were then being placed in line, under your instructions, to take over as a matter of Communist Party leadership in Seattle in the event that your superiors in the Communist Party for any reason were taken out of the activity? Is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I was sent underground as reserve leadership to take the place of leadership that might be arrested under the Smith Act or that might through any other circumstance not be able to function and to be sure that the Communist Party has leadership in the State of Washington.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question? How far underground did you go? By that I mean—by that I mean, Mrs. Hartle, when you went that far underground, were you one of the hard core, what is described as hard core, in the Pacific Northwest area?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was certainly expected to be by the Communist Party and I think that 99 or 100 percent of the time you were one of the hard core.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, your testimony that you have given us and which you will give us is out of the mouth of a person who was rated by the Communist Party as a member of the hard core Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Without a doubt.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. I feel it is time to have a short recess at this point, and after the recess I will appoint a subcommittee of the full committee consisting of Mr. Jackson, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, and Mr. Doyle to continue these hearings. Mr. Frazier and I will continue in executive hearings.

The committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 10:05 a. m. the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:15 a. m.)

(Whereupon, at 10:20 a. m., the hearing was reconvened.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready to proceed, counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. I am, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Hartle, we were discussing a little earlier the Communist attitude toward the Negro in this country; and I would like to continue that discussion and ask you to continue giving us the basis of your knowledge on that very important question.

Mrs. HARTLE. I had said that the Communist Party of this country, under Earl Browder, had gotten off the correct Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro people in this country, but after the reconstitution and through the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945 this error was corrected, and correcting this revision of Marxism-Leninism was one of the key issues around which the whole reconstitution took place at that time and after that time.

According to the Communist theory the Black Belt is the area of Negro majority in the South. It cuts across State and county lines, comprises more than a hundred counties, and it is the Negro people in this area who are a nation. The rest of the Negro people in our country are not a part of this nation, according to Communist definition. They are, instead of being a part of a nation, they are a national minority, just as the Mexican people, Slavic people, Jewish people, or other persons of definite origin are considered a national minority.

According to the Communist theory, not all nations are oppressed nations, but the Negro nation in the United States of America is considered an oppressed nation, and every real—and I believe that there are real problems of the Negro people in the United States of America—and every imagined problem is used by the Communist Party as proof that the Negro nation is an oppressed nation in this country.

But the basic proof that the Communist Party uses is that the Negro people in the South do not own the land in anywhere near the same proportion as white people do.

And so the Communist theory says that the basic problem of the Negro nation is land reform.

In its emphasis on the Negro question, the Communist Party constantly points out the size of the Negro people—14 or 15 million people, all oppressed in some degree, South and North, and therefore teaches that the Negro people, as a whole, are the main ally of the proletariat in the United States of America.

And a great deal of emphasis is placed by the Communist Party on the willingness of the Negro people to fight for their rights. Great hopes are raised that the working class, supported by the Negro people, will be a strong striking force when Negro labor unity is achieved.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, I think this is a most important point. Would you say that the Communist Party is sincere in this position on the Negro?

Mrs. HARTLE. That question has been asked me, I think, oftener than any other, and I think there is a good reason to ask it.

One answer is that it is sincere in exactly the same way as it is sincere in all of its other front work. If one is to accept any of the front work of the Communist Party as sincere, then they could accept the work on the question of Negro rights as being sincere.

Mr. SCHERER. May I interrupt?

But the whole objective eventually is to gain converts for the Communist cause, is it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is true. The overall strategy is the proletarian revolution. That is the overall strategy of the Communist movement. The seizure of power by the working class of course led by the Communist Party for the establishment of socialism, which at later stage develops into communism.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. May I interrupt at this point? I was rather startled at the language you used there a minute ago.

Do I understand you to say in substance that the hope is that the working people, with the people of the Negro nation, will form a striking force? Didn't you use the term "striking force"?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. DOYLE. In what way did you use that? Does that refer to the use in your judgment that they want to have force and violence?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party explains this in a whole number of ways in the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism, the important thing, the objective is the seizure of power, and the striking force then expecting what is called resistance is with arms. Lenin speaks of armed insurrection a great deal in his works, which I have read and studied.

The Communist Party will also explain, and this I am sure is more for public consumption and to fool its own members, too—that if there is no resistance from the capitalistic class, then there will be no need for the working class to use any force.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand then that your testimony is to the ultimate result that if the capitalist class resists in the United States being taken over by the Communist philosophy, that the reason that the Communist Party is advocating that there should be a Negro nation, as you have described, and in that Black Belt, is because they expect and want to use the Negro people in the Black Belt as part of the violent striking force?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I think that that is quite a fair description. Of course, in Communist theory it goes off on one point and talks about nations. What is a nation? It explains what it is and says they should all have equal rights. Therefore, if any of them are oppressed by another nation, they have a right to determine their own destiny, which of course means that they have the right to do anything they want to, of course, which they can do. Practical life of course makes that impossible at any particular point.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, you are of course aware of the fact that my question which I asked Mrs. Hartle was asked by me not only based on her testimony, but on the very similar testimony that we have heard in all parts of the United States with reference to the Negro question and on the formation and cultivation of a Negro nation.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mrs. Hartle.

Mrs. HARTLE. Did you wish me to continue?

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please, explaining this Negro problem?

Mrs. HARTLE. In order for the working class to be able to assume power, led by the Communist Party—it is never conceived in the Communist Party that anyone but the Communist Party could lead this working class in assuming power—the working class must mobilize all the allies it can who will go along with it. If the Negro nation will rise and force its own self-determination for land reform and for other things that the Negro people do want or should want—if they would do this in concert with the working class, this, along with what other allies that might be mobilized along many other lines, should make a sufficiently strong force to upset the power of the capitalist class and



create enough support to make it possible for the working class to retain power after seizing it. And it is frankly recognized in Communist theory and that the whole strategy is not for the main purpose of Negro liberation but for the purpose of the proletarian revolution and this is not hidden in Communist theory.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Hartle, to what extent, within your own personal knowledge, was the Communist Party successful in the Seattle area in bringing into the Communist Party and considerable number of Negro citizens?

Mrs. HARTLE. In the Seattle area, the success in bringing any number of Negro people into the Communist Party was small, until during and after World War II. And at that time, with the influx of a great number of Negro workers into the war industries here and into the area, the Communist Party at that time, in championing demands and raising demands and in figuring out demands, was able to organize sufficient activity that a large number of Negro people did join the party at that time.

Mr. JACKSON. In point of numbers, if you can, will you give us the optimum membership, the highest membership of the Communist Party in this area of which you have any information or knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. Of the Communist Party as a whole?

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Mrs. Hartle, I understand that counsel will get to this matter in the course of his questioning, so I will withdraw that question at this time.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to point up one thing, if I may.

Mrs. Hartle, isn't it with the curious lack of logic that the Communists are noted for—the Communist line that if anyone stands in their way, whether it be the capitalist class or a country or a nation or a group, that if the Communists attack, it really isn't an attack—they are merely acting in defense of the proletariat so that they try to sell themselves and their members on the idea that any use of force and violence by them is really not their fault, but it is the fault of the capitalists or what have you, that they don't fall down and allow the guy to take off their head?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; the whole Communist theory that I have studied and read by Lenin and Stalin and others is always able in spite of the fact that it talks about having an armed insurrection, and so forth—it always manages to put the question that the best interests of the workers, the best interests of the people, the best interests of the Nation were involved.

Mr. CLARDY. And that, therefore, they are acting in defense rather than offense?

Mrs. HARTLE. And in defense rather than offense, and if there is a moot question there, that it is morally justified.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mrs. Hartle, were you present at the reconstitution convention in 1945?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I was present at the reconstitution convention of the Communist Party, both in this district and at the national convention.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you one of the delegates?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was 1 of 4 delegates to the reconstitution convention held in New York in 1945.



Mr. KUNZIG. Was this problem of the Negro taken up at that time?

Mrs. HARTLE. That problem was taken up at that time, and there was quite a lot of discussion there about how to face the question. The problem was that the Negro people, Black Belt or not, very evidently don't want to be considered as a nation—are very much opposed to anything that smacks of separation from our country, of being set aside separately, and the point was made that, while this basic theoretical position was correct and had to be adhered to, that it should not be blared forth in any immediate programs, any more than you would go to a labor union with a resolution on a raise in wages and then tack on that this is in the best interests of the proletarian revolution. And that is the way it was explained, and that is why I made the point that it is like the national question as a part of the front technique.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that the Communist Party has generally recognized that it has not been as successful in penetrating the Negro group as it felt it should have been?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think in the Communist Party, as a Communist, the opinion that I got and that I held was that the Communist Party had a great deal of difficulty in getting started and in learning how to work with the Negro people. I do believe, though, that the Communist Party's opinion at a later date was that it was learning how and was beginning to be more successful but not nearly as successful as it would like to be.

Mr. SCHERER. Not nearly as successful as it thought it could be?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am inclined very strongly—

Mr. SCHERER. Or not as successful as it has been in some other circles?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct. I do believe now, looking at it objectively, that the Communist Party was not nearly as successful as it thought it was or advertised itself as being.

Mr. SCHERER. It had considerable difficulty in converting the mass of the Negro population, hadn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Oh, yes, considerable difficulty in even keeping its members and making any kind of Communist members out of them.

Mr. SCHERER. Much more so than with other groups that it has attacked?

Mrs. HARTLE. I don't know whether I can think of all the other groups at the moment. I wouldn't know about that.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Hartle, on that point, is it true that there has been a considerable turnover in membership so far as the American Negro is concerned in the Communist Party; that it was for one reason or another that there is testimony to indicate that disillusion came to a great many Negroes who entered the Communist Party and that for that reason it was difficult to maintain in active participating membership the Negro after he had compared the fact of the Communist Party with the figures and the promises which had been given to him as representing the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is very true. My own experience with the Negro people in and around the Communist Party had been that they are extremely interested in achieving a status of equality with other people; but until they are influenced by communism, it has never even

entered their heads or their hearts that this ever needs to be in any way connected with disloyalty to our country. They consider equality as morally right and can be fairly easily attracted into front work that is skillfully done.

Mr. SCHERER. They have never considered accomplishing these objectives which they have for equal rights through forceful means, either, have they, as a whole?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; not through forceful means.

If a campaign is launched by the Communist Party that isn't very clearly in the interests of the Negro people, it is my experience that they will detect these extraneous matters very rapidly and see ulterior motives very quickly, and for this reason I believe the Communist Party is forced to act in its so-called sincere way. If the Communist Party wants to make any headway among the Negro people, it cannot crowd the issue; it has to work out a simple campaign directly based on a need or right of the Negro people and not crowd in other matters rapidly, or the Negro people will just disappear from it.

And if the Communist Party sets up a goal, like a job in a Safeway store, and puts on a picket line, maybe the Negro people will feel, "Well, it would be a good idea to have a job for a Negro in a store," but if you start carrying banners, you know, about 3 or 4 other subjects, this is very quickly detected, and the Negro people stay away from and don't want to be involved with a lot of other matters, involved matters that according to my understanding as best as I can understand it, is that they don't want to be disloyal to the country and they don't want to fight for things that they don't consider to be morally right.

Mr. SCHERER. Certainly your testimony is in line with that of other testimony we have heard on this same subject with reference to the Negroes themselves and their attitude toward their problem.

Mr. JACKSON. I would say that that testimony comes in large part from Negroes themselves, who were thoroughly disillusioned within the Communist Party. And it might be of interest in that connection to state that the research section of the House committee is presently preparing a report, based upon the testimony given by Negroes who were former Communists, and I think the tentative title of that publication is "The American Negro in the Communist Party," which will within a few months, I am sure, be available for public distribution and may be obtained by writing to the clerk of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, as long as you are mentioning a committee publication, I have here in my hand this booklet, One Hundred Things You Should Know about Communism in the U. S. A., covering religion, education, labor, Government, etc. Any of you folks who would like a copy of this, as long as the supply lasts at Washington, D. C.—there are not too many of them there, I am told—may receive one.

If you will write to the Committee on Un-American Activities at Washington, D. C., as long as the supply lasts, you can get a copy of this free.

Mr. JACKSON. Apropos of the matter of reports, I think it should be stated that each year the House Committee on Un-American Activities has printed as House documents, reports on various phases of the Communist operations in this country, in addition to which there are of course available a certain number of transcripts of the hearings; that

is to say, that as you have undoubtedly noted, every word of the testimony being taken here is being recorded and will be published by the committee under the heading of "Communist Infiltration in the Seattle Area." When that is published, it will of course, subject to the limitations imposed in point of numbers, be available for distribution to those interested and may be had upon request.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, would you continue with your discussion about the Negro problem?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think that the sincerity about the Communist Party on the Negro question that troubles many people should be said to derive not from the Communist Party; the look of sincerity derives not from the Communist Party, but from the astuteness of the Negro people who force this being sincere, being direct in the work on the Communist Party and do not allow the Communist Party to draw them into involved things without knowing what they are about.

I think I could say on this that there are other people in our country who do not show that much perspicacity.

The reason I draw this conclusion is that even before there was a developed educational anti-Communist campaign in our country, the Communist Party had a great deal of trouble in gaining support among the Negro people and had to work with them. It is said by the Communist Party that the Negro people are afraid of the Communist Party because the authorities are on them all the time, but this was the situation long before the authorities were very concerned about the matter, as far as my experience goes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, was it not the practice of the Communist Party to establish Negro commissions, as they called them?

Mrs. HARTLE. As a part of the emphasis on the Negro question, the Communist Party has established commissions, standing committees, in the national setup, in the districts, in the divisions of the districts, the regions, and even into the divisions of the regions, the sections, so that a system of standing committees on the Negro question is in existence much more developed than on any other questions that the Communist Party involves itself with.

(At this point Mr. Clardy left the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. These committees are devoted to bringing about the execution of Communist policy and program. They are subcommittees of the leading committee of the particular jurisdiction and are responsible to it fully. And especially since the reconstitution of the Communist Party the practice has been to assign top people, top Communist leaders, along with others, on these Negro commissions. And my own work on the district Negro commission was a district executive board assignment.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that we may be absolutely clear, and so that the record will be absolutely clear, this detailed testimony that you have been giving us on the Communist Party's position with regard to the Negro has been based upon rather extensive personal knowledge of your own in working in this very field here in this area, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I was a member of the Negro commission of the northwest district from the time I came to Seattle until the time I left Seattle in 1950, and was chairman of that commission for a considerable portion of the time, secretary other times, and always the top Communist on the commission.



Mr. KUNZIG. So that these policies that you are telling us about and this plan of the Communist Party, in a sense utilized the Negro for its own advantage and not for the advantage of the Negro, is a plan and a policy which you yourself practiced and which you carried out for years?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question there?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think I noted you saying three times at least that the Negro was not interested in or could not easily be encouraged in being disloyal to the United States.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I mean that very fully.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that true up until the time you left the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. All of my experiences with the Negro people have indicated no evidence of any desire to be disloyal or even a thought of being disloyal until they became somewhat acquainted with Communist theory and began to think that the only way they could get their rights was to be somewhat involved with these other matters. They had to be convinced by the Communist Party and by Marxist-Leninist theory, and it wasn't an easy thing to do in most cases.

Mr. DOYLE. Then your testimony is that the American Communist Party, in order to try to acquire Negro American membership, deliberately taught the American Negro that he must be disloyal to the United States in order to gain his equality?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, in effect, the Communist Party never said it was teaching disloyalty, but it taught the Negro leaders and members the whole Communist program, and in doing so, of course, was teaching them to be disloyal. The Communist Party will disclaim that, of course.

Mr. DOYLE. One more question: In your judgment, are you in a position to give us an appraisal as to whether or not the feeling of the American Negro on the matter of disloyalty to the United States is on the increase or decrease so far as you have observed or so far as you did observe at the time you left the American Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, my own experience is that it was extremely on the decrease.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is very important, Mr. Chairman, to have that appraisal.

Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, these Negro commissions you mentioned, do they follow what we know so well to be the party line?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; these Negro commissions followed the party line exactly the same as any other commissions or subcommittees or leading committees.

The purpose of the commission was not to have a separate line or program, but to develop a program of action to bring this line into effect among the Negro people.

After the leading committee approves of a line and program, the commission proceeds to assign specific persons and specific groups to carry out certain parts of the desired work. And a great deal of advice and attention is given by the district and national leadership.



to the Negro commission—nationally, in the district and in the regions, this is the case. Many articles of guidance are published in Political Affairs, which is the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, and there is really fundamentally no difference at all theoretically or organizationally between the Communist Party's work on the Negro question and on any other question. This is not any kind of an independent field, where the Communist Party operates, say, as a sort of service organization.

It is greatly desired, though, by the Communist Party that people should view their work in the field of Negro rights as a sort of special-service work. It is greatly desired that especially the Negro people should view it as such, but that is not the case; it is not a service organization—the Communist Party is not a service organization in a certain way for the Negro people. It is a Communist Party and its attitude toward the Negro people and Negro nation is exactly the same as that to any other group in respect to its objective.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, it wants to use the Negro just as it wants to use anyone whom it can get its tentacles upon.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, who were the members of the district Negro commission in the period up to July 1950, at which time you left Seattle to go into the underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was a member of the district Negro commission at that time; Terry Pettus was a member of this commission. He was at that time a member of the district committee and editor of the Northwest edition of the People's World, and is white. Paul Bowen was a member of the commission. He was at that time the Communist Party organizer of the central region, and he is a Negro.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was one of the defendants in the Smith Act trial; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; he was. Earl George was a member of the commission. He was also a member of the district committee. He is a Negro.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any further identification of Earl George?

Mrs. HARTLE. Earl George was a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party and a leader in it and was a Communist Party member in the warehouseman's local of the ILWU.

Calvin Harris was on the commission as a representative from the Communist Party commission on youth work. He is also a Negro. I believe that he has been discussed before.

And Eugene Wilks was also a member of the commission. He was a member of the waterfront section committee, and also a Negro.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others?

Mrs. HARTLE. A man named Charles Nichols was also a member of the commission. He was an officer of the Marine Cooks and Stewards. He was a Negro, and he is deceased.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now can you tell us the names of any others who were perhaps members at an earlier period of the district Negro commission? Try to give us, roughly, the period, if you can.

Mrs. HARTLE. I do remember some persons who were at one time or another for a certain length of time or another members of the district Negro commission. That would be from the period of about 1943 up to about 1947—around in that period, or 1948.

Carl Brooks has been a member of the district Negro commission. He had been chairman of it for a period, and is a Negro. He lived in the central Seattle area and was a member of the shipscalers' union.

Celeste Brooks has also been a member of this commission for a period of time. She is a Negro woman, wife of Carl Brooks, and has been a member of the King County committee of the Communist Party.

P. J. Blakes, who was an officer of the 37th district branch of the Communist Party and also of the Communist Political Association, a Negro, was for a time a member of the district Negro commission.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any address or any further identification that you can help us with?

Mrs. HARTLE. He lived in central Seattle, East Madison district.

Sam Markson was a member of the district Negro commission and was representative on it from the Oregon State Negro Commission. I believe he was chairman of the Oregon State Negro Commission at that time, and he was white.

Clark Harper, organizer of the central region of the Communist Party, a Negro, was a member of the district Negro commission, also, for quite a period of time. He lived for a time in Seattle and later lived in south King County.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am correct, am I not, that it lies within your knowledge that Clark Harper worked for the FBI in the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes: it does lie within my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. And it is correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Laura Wilkins was for a time a member of the Negro commission. She was an officer of the waterfront region of the Communist Party, a young Negro woman.

Baba Jeanne Decker was a member of the district Negro commission and at that time she was a member of the Tacoma Negro Commission and a representative from that commission. She lived at that time in Tacoma.

Earl Payne was a member of the district Negro commission and a member of the district committee. He lived at that time in Seattle, before going to become Oregon State organizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you tell us now in conclusion on this Negro subject the highest number, the optimum number of Negroes, to your knowledge, that were members of the party in this Northwest district?

Mrs. HARTLE. I do remember one recruiting drive in which the goal was 1,000 members and that by the time the drive was concluded that considerably more than 50 percent of that particular drive who were brought into the Communist Party, recruited, were Negro men and women.

The optimum number of Negro membership in this district, as best I can recall it, was well over a thousand.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, earlier in your testimony—I believe it was Monday—we touched at various times since then briefly upon the subject of your going into the underground. I should now like to turn in much more detail to the subject of the underground, how it operates, what it does, what your part was in it—the general total discussion of the whole field of Communist Party members hiding underground.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, before we leave the subject of the attempt on the part of the Communist Party to infiltrate the Negro race, I think it should be said at this point that it is to the everlasting credit of the American Negro that he has withstood the onslaught of the Communist Party to make him a part of the conspiracy. I think this is particularly true, because perhaps the Negro, more than anyone else, has problems which would make him susceptible to the Communist program.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, you have already testified that you were a member of the underground of the Communist Party in the Northwest area very recently. Would you advise the committee who was in charge of this movement?

Mrs. HARTLE. This was headed by Henry Huff, district chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee how Henry Huff kept in contact with you? Tell us how you went underground and just how it was done.

Mrs. HARTLE. How it was done—I had mentioned before that I was called to a meeting in a park and there it was discussed that at least a couple of people would have to go underground immediately. What this meant—it was explained that it was serious—what this meant was leaving town, assuming another name and identity, and living in such a way that no one would know where you are, that no one would recognize you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you drop out of sight?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you use another name?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. What other name did you use?

Mrs. HARTLE. Margaret S. Johnson. I spelled it J-o-h-n-s-o-n.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you take steps, for example, to establish your identity, such as getting a driver's license, or anything of that nature?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I had a driver's license.

Mr. KUNZIG. Under a false name?

Mrs. HARTLE. Under the false name, with a false description, too—age and height and weight were varied from the truth.

(At this point Mr. Clardy returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you go when you dropped out of sight?

Mrs. HARTLE. I first went to a Communist Party member's house in this town and stayed with her, and kept out of sight and didn't take any buses or didn't walk around outside so anyone would know where I had gone to. I stayed in her home.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then where did you go?

Mrs. HARTLE. Then I went to Tacoma, Wash.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was the Communist Party member in whose home you stayed before you went to Tacoma?

Mrs. HARTLE. Paula Alexander.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the address where you stayed with Paula Alexander?

Mrs. HARTLE. I stayed with her a few days in a housing project in West Seattle. I believe it was called the Delridge housing project, and later she moved to a house on Madison Street near Lake Washington. I don't remember the address.



Mr. KUNZIG. So the record is clear; of course, it goes without saying that you knew her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did know her to be one.

Mr. KUNZIG. You said you went to Tacoma——

Mrs. HARTLE. Then I went to Tacoma.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us what you did there?

Mrs. HARTLE. In Tacoma I rented an apartment and I stayed in that apartment except to go out to get groceries and perform any necessary errand, but there I stayed in that apartment and started crocheting a bedspread.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now you stayed out of sight and had no contact with your friends, and so forth, except the contact that I am going to ask you about with couriers; is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I had contact at that time—at that very first time with one person.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was that?

Mrs. HARTLE. Ralph Hall.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you further identify Ralph Hall?

Mrs. HARTLE. Ralph Hall was the Northwest district press director before he was sent underground, was a member of the district committee, a full-time functionary for a period for the Communist Party, and in the capacity of press director he worked half for the Communist Party and half for the Peoples World.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he underground? Did he go underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. He went underground with me, at the same time that I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. And these facts are not known until now; is that correct? They have never been revealed?

Mrs. HARTLE. As far as I know, they have not been known.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is the assumed name that Ralph Hall took, if you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I do know. It was Carl Swanson.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now where did he go to work?

Mrs. HARTLE. He first went to Tacoma, too, and also rented a place to live and also stayed in and didn't work. However, I met with him, kept contact with him at meetings in restaurants or in a park, and sometimes he came to my apartment and we had a meeting or conference there for an hour or two.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you at any time communicate with him by telephone?

Mrs. HARTLE. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you under instructions not to use the telephone, or was this something that you decided upon yourself?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, I am sure that we decided upon it ourselves, based on our past training—that that would be poor means of communication.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did Ralph Hall, who assumed the name of Carl Swanson, go to work at any particular type of work underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. After a few months he went to work as a farmhand on a farm.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is what he told me. I know only what he told me.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.



Mr. CLARDY. I just want to interject something here that probably a lot of the folks that are seeing or hearing this may think that this is something extraordinary and unusual, this underground apparatus and how it is put into operation.

I want to ask you, Witness, if what you did and what the man did you have been talking about, is only a typical example of the way the Communist Party is operating and setting up its underground apparatus all across the country?

Mrs. HARTLE. It is only a typical example. It was my understanding that this sort of practice, in fact, it was told to us by Huff that this was being done all over the country and that it was a regular practice. I have had experiences in the past of similar practices in light of concentration work, of getting into industries, and these are not such new things to me, but a full scale underground of the type that I understood that I was entering, I had not experienced before.

Mr. CLARDY. So that the American people may clearly understand, I think it was J. Edgar Hoover who used the expression that the Communist Party is somewhat like an iceberg—about one-tenth above the surface and nine-tenths below the surface.

What you are saying fits in, of course, with what the committee has discovered and has been developing in the past, but I hope no one misses the point that we do have a secret underground conspiracy ready to spring into action when any emergency in the party comes along. That is a fact, isn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is the conclusion that I draw from my own experience and knowledge of who was sent into the underground.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you please advise the committee, Mrs. Hartle, how Henry Huff kept in contact with you?

Mrs. HARTLE. Through a courier.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you mean that? Would you explain it in a little more detail?

Mrs. HARTLE. Through a person whose assignment would be to keep the contact, so that meeting places could be arranged, so that literature or communications could be passed through this person without it always being necessary for Huff and myself or another member of the underground to meet.

Mr. JACKSON. This was, in effect, then a liaison between the Communist Party leadership in being and the Communist Party leadership in hiding?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Hartle, was the underground set up in any groups—I mean of 2 or 3 or 4, or anything of that nature?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, the underground was not set up in groups, as such. In almost all cases the individuals were by themselves and then connected up with someone else. In some cases a husband and wife were together in a group.

I was a member of a committee of 3 that was supposed to be a reserve state committee, the 3 of us meeting together from time to time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell the committee, if you will, please, what was the purpose of this underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. The purpose of the underground, as I was told it and as I believed it to be, was to be able to take leadership, assume leader-

ship of the Communist Party in the event that leaders of the party were arrested or in the event that there was illness or any other reason for elimination of leadership—that if the present state committee were arrested or anything else would happen to them that there would be other committees in readiness to take their place for leadership.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness this question?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. How did you obtain your means of livelihood while you were underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was furnished with \$200 by Henry Huff when I left Seattle and some small sums after that; but I went to work—I did various kinds of work, mostly as cook and waitress, and earned my own living.

Mr. DOYLE. While you were underground, did you pay dues to the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. This committee of three that you mentioned, how often did this group meet?

Mrs. HARTLE. The group was only two, at first—Ralph Hall and myself; and we met about once a week and later, as we went farther away and became more separated in point of living, about once in 2 weeks; and it could vary—there might be 3 weeks for some reason that we didn't get together.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were these meetings held?

Mrs. HARTLE. Mostly in restaurants or, when the weather was permitting, in parks; and when the committee of three was meeting, it was held in motels.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what cities and where?

Mrs. HARTLE. In the cities of Tacoma, Oregon City, Salem, Eugene. I think there was a meeting arranged once in Corvallis. One member came along with a car and we would drive to a place in a car in the afternoon and have a meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. How did you receive notification of such a meeting to be held?

Mrs. HARTLE. These were prearranged in advance; and if a special meeting was called, a courier would inform me and the others and let us know where to be at a certain time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, in order to make this clear, to get a proper picture, I want to ask this question.

You were, in effect, giving up your entire life as it had been, admittedly a Communist Party but creating a new Communist Party life with entirely new people, is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who were the others who were with you—the other members of this underground committee?

Mrs. HARTLE. Another member of the underground committee was Milford Sutherland.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was he from?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was from Tacoma and had been organizer of the Communist Party of Tacoma.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he tell you what name he was using in the underground?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think he told me his name. I have forgotten it, excepting that I do remember the first name was Lee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there any other name that you can think of, of any other courier or any other people?

Mrs. HARTLE. One of the couriers for a period of time was Mary Guilmet. She served at the very beginning for the purpose of keeping contact.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any further identification of this person?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was a member of the north King County region of the Communist Party and an officer of the region. I believe she was one of the section organizers of the north King County Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where is she now? Do you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. When I last saw her, she told me that her husband wanted to go to Alaska and that the Communist Party didn't want him to go but that he was going anyway, and she wondered whether she should go with him. I advised her to go in view of the fact that she had small children, and I gave her my personal advice on that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does it lie within your knowledge that her name is now Mary Guilmet Graham, her married name?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I believe that was the name. I had forgotten the name, but that is the name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now who else was present at some of these underground meetings other than the people you have already testified about?

Mrs. HARTLE. Henry Huff was present at some of them.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was the man who was in charge, is that right?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; he was the main contact between the underground and the other Communist Party leadership.

(At this point Mr. Clardy left the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. May the record show that Henry Huff was one of the Smith Act defendants in this area?

Mr. JACKSON. The record will so show.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire at that point, please?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand your testimony is that this man, Henry Huff, from Seattle, controlled the underground clear down to Oregon City and Tacoma and Corvallis through couriers and otherwise?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Then the underground, even into another State, was controlled from Seattle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Why didn't they use the telephone?

Mrs. HARTLE. The only reason that I can give, being a Communist and knowing about telephones, is that there is a great deal of chance of telephone wires either being tapped or of other persons overhearing you speaking; and, if I may add in a rather light vein—telephone communications for Communists would be very expensive because they would have to be quite long—these would be 3- and 4-hour conferences.

Mr. SCHERER. They were afraid that perhaps the telephone was tapped by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is that it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, the main reason that a member of the underground wouldn't use the telephone in order to keep contact with anyone else was that his location might be found out.



Mr. KUNZIG. Now you said that Henry Huff was one of the persons present other than those you have already testified about. Who else was present?

Mrs. HARTLE. Jack Lawrie, Sr.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you spell that, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. L-a-w-r-i-e.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him further?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was organizational secretary of the central region of King County of the Communist Party in the latter part of the 1940's and 1950 and lived in that area.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did Helen Huff attend with Henry Huff?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; Helen Huff was often present at the meetings with Henry Huff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is she his wife?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was his wife.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I knew her to be a member of the Communist Party. She was the North King County organizer of the Communist Party in the period before I left Seattle and a member of the district committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was discussed at these meetings?

Mrs. HARTLE. Quite a lot of discussion would revolve around how we could keep our presence from being known, either to authorities or to anyone else. We often discussed whether we had seen anyone, whether anyone had recognized us, whether it was necessary to move, and then the question of earning a living came in for quite a lot of discussion, too—what kind of place you could work in so that too many people wouldn't see you; it wasn't considered very wise to work in a place like a restaurant, but there was also the problem of being able to obtain other employment, and so those sort of questions were discussed a great deal. Then Communist Party policy was to some extent discussed and literature was passed. But the underground did not have, in my experience at least, any very coherent or very detailed report from the Communist Party as such.

Mr. KUNZIG. While you were in this underground, were you active as a Communist in the sense of going to meetings and typical things?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of course you were even a more dedicated Communist, if possible, in this special line of underground work that you were doing?

Mrs. HARTLE. That was considered so, and so told to us by Henry Huff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now you have mentioned Mary Guilmet and Jack Lawrie, Sr., as couriers. Did you have any other courier contacts?

Mrs. HARTLE. One courier who made several contacts while Ralph Hall and I were in Tacoma was William K. Dobbins.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I knew him to be a member of the district board and the district committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any further identification, any address or anything of that nature?

Mrs. HARTLE. He lived in the Ballard area and was an officer one time of the Building Service Employees Union, Local 6.



Mr. KUNZIG. Now did Henry Huff ever advise you of any similar underground assignments given to any other people and, if so, would you please name these other people?

(At this point Mr. Clardy returned to the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. Henry Huff did advise us on several occasions—two or three occasions—of other persons who had been sent underground—whom he said had been sent underground.

Mr. KUNZIG. So your testimony now is as to what Henry Huff has told you?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, as to what he had told me. And I can remember of him mentioning that George and Rosella Bailey—

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that name?

Mrs. HARTLE. R-o-s-e-l-l-a B-a-i-l-e-y.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now aside from the fact of the hearsay of what Huff had told you, did you, of your own knowledge, know these two people to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I knew of my own knowledge that they were members of the Communist Party.

George Bailey was a member of the section committee of the waterfront section and an officer of the longshoremen's branch of the Communist Party.

Rosella Bailey was organizational secretary of the central region of the Communist Party.

Both of them lived in the East Madison area. They had an apartment in the East Madison area.

Henry Huff told me that Dell and Pearl Castle had been sent and had gone underground.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you identify them further, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Dell Castle I knew in the Communist Party as a member, and he was once organizer of the southwest Washington region of the Communist Party.

Pearl Castle I had known as a member of the Communist Party, as a person involved in Communist Party cultural activities—entertainment activities.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Baba Jeanne Decker? You have already talked about her this morning.

Mrs. HARTLE. Henry Huff told me that Baba Jeanne Decker had been sent underground and had gone underground. She had been organizer of the Tacoma region of the Communist Party, a member of the district committee and lived in Tacoma when last I knew her as a member.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Stan Henrickson, I believe it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. H-e-n-r-i-c-k-s-o-n?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is correct. In my communication with him formerly I had used the name Henderson and had never been corrected by him, but I have reason to believe that his name is Henrickson now.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I knew him as Northwest regional organizer of the Communist Party in the Bellingham, Sedro-Wooley, Everett area.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was told by Huff that Carl Backlund had gone underground.

Carl Backlund had been organizational secretary of the waterfront section of the Communist Party, and Huff told me that he had been sent, when he went into the underground, into the Northwest area of the State of Washington.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Gordon Moir?

Mrs. HARTLE. Gordon Moir and Ted Dokter. Huff told me that both of them had been sent underground and had gone underground.

Ted Dokter and Gordon Moir were both leaders of the Communist Party in southwest Washington, had both been members of the district committee.

(At this point Mr. Clardy left the hearing room.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know a Merrill Kimple?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was told by Huff that Merrill Kimple was doing something along this line, but it was never clear whether he was underground or not underground to me, but his name was mentioned.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Merrill Kimple to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did. I knew him as South King County regional organizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Clayton Van Lydegraf?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was told by Huff—and this was a little later—that Clayton Van Lydegraf had gone underground and was assuming some type of underground responsibility. I had known him as the Northwest district organizational secretary of the Communist Party, member of the district board and district committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would it be correct to say that Huff had—how shall I put it?—breached Communist Party security by telling you these matters?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; I don't believe so. I believe that the underground State committee was supposed to have some idea of who they could rely on in the event that he had to assume leadership.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that it is possible for underground Communist Party members to have some knowledge then of who are other underground Communist Party members?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, yes, through being told so by the direct organizer, but I did not know their addresses or did not see them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now to a very serious question, Mrs. Hartle. In the event the United States engaged in armed conflict with the Soviet Union, or anything of that nature, what would be the position of this underground group of the Communist Party? What would be their functions?

Mrs. HARTLE. The functions of this underground group, as I understood them, would be no different from the functions of an open leadership.

The reason given for being underground is that you would be arrested if you were above ground—or might be; so the underground is for the purpose of being able to continue to operate.

Now as to what the position would be—the position of the underground leadership: As I understand it, it wouldn't be any different from the position of an open leadership. It is the position of the Communist Party that is the point here, as best as I was told and understood it.

The position of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., as expressed by William Z. Foster, was that the Communist Party, U. S. A., will

not support a war of aggression by the United States against the Soviet Union. Foster said this in support of similar statements by Togliatti, head of the Communist Party of Italy, and of a similar statement by a French leader of the Communist Party of France, and that is the way the question was placed by Foster, taking it for granted that if there ever were a war between the United States of America and Soviet Russia that the United States must be the aggressor, and then to say that the Communist Party will not support a war of aggression. And that is the way the Communist terminology and reasoning goes on that question.

Mr. JACKSON. Then to put it quite bluntly, in the event of any possible hostilities for any reason between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, the loyalty of those in the underground would be expected to be on the side of the Soviet Union?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; it would be expected, and it would be, if they were Communists.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it is appropriate at that point for me to read a paragraph again from the Communist Manifesto, quoting from Mr. Stalin. I am reading from page 12 of this American Bar Association booklet on communism, Marxism, and Leninism that I referred to yesterday, where Stalin quotes Lenin as follows:

The main task of contemporary communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path or the particular turn of events that will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last, and great revolutionary struggle.

We do not know which spark will kindle the conflagration.

Then there is the question:

Can a country in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established consider itself fully guaranteed against foreign intervention and consequently against the restoration of the old order without the victory of the revolution in a number of other countries?

A question which must be answered in the negative. What is needed is the ability to find at any moment that particular link in the chain which must be pressed in with one stroke to gain control of the whole chain and pass without a hitch to the next link.

I think that is especially appropriate in view of the present world conditions and the aggressive move of military and subversive communism in certain portions of Europe and now in Indochina and in that part of the world, to say nothing of Korea.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I bring up this point in order to clarify a part of the testimony given by the witness?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

(At this point Mr. Clardy returned to hearing room.)

Mr. SCHERER. As I understand your testimony, Mrs. Hartle, you said that the Communist Party would not support a war of aggression by the United States against Soviet Russia.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is the Communist Party's position; yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And, as I understand your testimony, it is that the party has already determined that any war between the United States and Soviet Russia would be considered by the party as a war of aggression on the part of the United States?



Mrs. HARTLE. That I am completely certain of.

Mr. SCHERER. So that the die has already been cast?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is the point.

Mr. SCHERER. Just one other question, while I have the floor.

Did the party, particularly the underground, cache away any equipment, such as typewriters or mimeograph machines, in the event that the equipment then in use by the party were taken or confiscated by the authorities or otherwise destroyed?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was told by Huff, and there had been discussion even before I left Seattle, that such steps had to be taken—that printing equipment, lithograph equipment, paper, typewriters and other kinds of equipment, to make it possible to put out a newspaper or leaflets, had to be put away in a secure place in the event that it was impossible to secure it by just going out and buying it at a later date.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know of any other equipment other than the type that you have mentioned that was cached away for future emergency use?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. I don't remember anything except that type of equipment. I don't believe there was any other. There is a possibility that there would be some auxiliary material that I haven't mentioned.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know of any secret funds or any secret accounts of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. There was discussion of a reserve fund for the underground in this district. That reserve fund, as far as I know, did not materialize. I couldn't be too sure of it, but at least I never saw any evidence of it.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you in that part of the underground that dealt with sabotage?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, no.

Mr. SCHERER. There was an underground unit that dealt with sabotage, was there not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not that I knew of.

Mr. SCHERER. Not that you knew of?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not to my knowledge, no.

Mr. SCHERER. I have nothing further.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, isn't it a fact, however, that such a unit or other types of units could and probably would exist without your knowing about it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, certainly don't rule it out of the realm of possibility, and the reason that I don't is that when the Communist Party says that you are giving your life, especially a functionary, you put the Communist Party before everything and have such an extremely dedicated approach and such an extremely strong attachment to Soviet Russia that it follows to me very logically and easily that in the event of a certain type of situation the Communist Party would engage in sabotage.

Mr. CLARDY. The point that I was trying to get at was this: Isn't it the Communist Party tactic to see to it that one individual member knows as few of the other members in other cells as possible in order to prevent the FBI or other agencies of Government from unraveling the whole thing, like grabbing on one end of a sock when you start



that process? Isn't it a fact, therefore, that if there had been the kind of underground cell that Congressman Scherer mentioned that it would have been necessarily concealed from the rest of you who were not in that particular section?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I believe that would be the case.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you yield a moment, Mr. Clardy?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Of course we recall the testimony of Robert Gladnick, who was before the committee in New York. He told us in great detail of the instructions he received and then later communicated to selected individuals with reference to sabotage.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I have in my hand this booklet which Mr. Velde called attention to a bit ago entitled "The American Way." I note that this was published in March 1954, and is apropos of what Congressman Scherer brought out and the witness testified to: That the die was already cast, which had been determined by the Communist Party of the United States—that if a war did come between the United States of America and the Soviet Union it would of course be an aggressive war and the fault of the United States.

Let me read one paragraph on page 20 of this booklet. I quote:

At the same time, the Communist Party emphasizes that the issue at the present time is not communism; the choice before our people today is peace, security, democracy versus the grip which the monopolists have on the country in their plans for fascism and war.

Now that bears out the testimony of this witness that the Communist Party in America has already determined that if there is a war it is at the fault of the United States of America. And this paragraph to a great extent, in my humble judgment, bears out that declared policy.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a few more names that I wish to ask you about before the noon recess, Mrs. Hartle, not necessarily connected with the subject of underground which we have been discussing.

Did you know a Hildur Josephine Hughes as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that name, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. H-i-l-d-u-r Josephine H-u-g-h-e-s.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify her further, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew Josephine Hughes as a member of the Communist Party in the south King region. I knew her for a time as branch chairman of the Rainier Vista branch. I have known her through functionaries' meetings and through south King County regional meetings, as a member of the Communist Party up to the time that I left Seattle in 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about William Carl Shifferley?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew William Carl Shifferley as a member of the Communist Party, as an officer of the Communist Party in the Anacortes area, where he lived. I have met him at district functionaries' meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. George Russell?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew George Russell as a member of the Communist Party in the south King region. He was a member with me of the Hal-Spring Club of the Communist Party, which was the aircraft club.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the sum total of identification that you can give us on him?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him as a member of the regional committee of south King County. He had been employed at Boeing's and was one of those fired by Boeing's after the strike, around 1946 or 1947.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. By the way, did you ever know a man by the name of Vernon Todd Riley?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. SCHERER. What was your acquaintance with him?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane, Wash., in 1941-42.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you tell us a little more in detail about Vernon Todd Riley?

Mrs. HARTLE. I remember that he was transferred to Spokane from Seattle sometime in 1941, that I received the transfer and that I went to his house to become acquainted with him. I knew him as a member of a professional club in Spokane. I remember that he was an officer of that club, either chairman or educational director, and probably he actually held both of those offices.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he pay dues to the party, do you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, I am sure he had to pay dues in order to be a member.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you had received his transfer card?

Mrs. HARTLE. His transfer, yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Was his wife also a member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I do not remember or recall whether she was a member or not. She was present at some meetings.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you happen to remember the wife's name?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I don't.

Mr. SCHERER. How often have you had contact with Riley?

Mrs. HARTLE. Oh, I met with him in quite a large, large number of meetings. He was present at a class, a district leadership class, that I taught also in Spokane.

Mr. SCHERER. At which there were only members of the Communist Party present?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, there were only members.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you say that he was an active member of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, he was one of the leaders of the Spokane section of the Communist Party at the time that I was organizer there in 1941 and 1942.

Mr. SCHERER. I would like to make an observation, Mr. Chairman, with reference to Riley at this point in the record.

Vernon Todd Riley, until October 20 of last year, was employed by the United States Government in the Department of Health, Welfare, and Education as a laboratory technician. It was only when this committee wrote to the Department on October 12 about Riley that he was suspended as of October 20 of last year.

The investigation of this committee indicated that there was in his personal file in the Civil Service Commission a report on his activities, and the information contained in that file has been substantiated almost word for word by the testimony given here by this witness.

Riley was suspended within a few days after the Department received the communication from this committee. Riley testified subsequently in Chicago and denied membership in the Communist Party, although he was identified by a number of other individuals.

In view of this testimony, I think that this committee should consider the possibility of referring Riley's testimony to the Department of Justice for perjury.

MR. JACKSON. Certainly. On the facts as set forth by the gentleman from Ohio, there is every reason to believe that the matter will be taken up in executive session for the purpose of arriving at a decision as to whether or not all of the transcripts in the case will be forwarded to the Attorney General for possible issuance of a perjury charge.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

MR. KUNZIG. I have one more name that I would like to mention before the lunch break, Mrs. Hartle.

Did you know Wayne Paschal as a member of the Communist Party?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes, I did know him as a member. He was a member of the south King region of the Communist Party. He lived out past South Park—in that area—out near along Military Road somewhere. He was a leader in the south King region of the Communist Party and he was a member of a small committee called the aircraft concentration committee, a committee which worked to devise policies to further the Communist Party's aircraft concentration policy.

MR. KUNZIG. Now that ends this testimony at the moment, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to make an announcement that it has come to the attention of the committee that Rev. Clinton Redwell, who was named here as a former member of the Communist Party yesterday, has appeared in the hearing room and he has stated that he desires very, very much to testify before this committee. He has stated that he was a member in 1948 and 1949 and that he is an ordained minister of the east Texas conference of the colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

I recommend respectfully, Mr. Chairman, that Rev. Clinton Redwell be heard at the conclusion of the luncheon recess.

MR. JACKSON. It is of course the established policy of the committee that in the event anyone is named in testimony that he has a right to appear to affirm or deny any such allegation; and, without objection from any member of the committee, Reverend Redwell will be the first witness this afternoon when the committee reconvenes at 2 p. m.

Is there anything further on the part of the members?

MR. DOYLE. Apropos of that, do I understand that he has informed the committee that he was a member of the Communist Party in 1948 and 1949?

MR. KUNZIG. That is correct, Mr. Doyle.

MR. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, going back to Vernon Todd Riley, there are 1 or 2 questions I forgot to ask the witness.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

MR. SCHERER. Do you happen to know of any other individuals who knew Vernon Todd Riley as a member of the Communist Party?



Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I do.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you furnish the staff with the names of those individuals?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I would be glad to do that.

Mr. SCHERER. Is it more than one?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; it is several.

Mr. SCHERER. The thing that I wanted to point out with reference to what I said about Riley was the fact that most of the information that this witness related was in the files of the Civil Service Commission for a number years but nothing was done with reference to Riley's employment by the Government of the United States until this committee merely indicated that it was going forward with an investigation insofar as Riley was concerned.

Mr. CLARDY. Wouldn't it be well at this point to ask her also to give the staff the names of places where she has met with Riley and the dates, if possible, of meetings that she has attended with him, and other details, so that we may be sure that we have all of the evidence that we need to submit to the Attorney General if we desire to do so?

Mrs. HARTLE. I will be happy to give whatever information I have.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Hartle, at a more appropriate time the committee will express its thanks to you. I know that this is a considerable and very tiring ordeal. We are most appreciative of your unfailing courtesy and your complete cooperation.

With that, the committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 11:48 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m.)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Testimony of witnesses heard during the afternoon session is printed in pt. 5 of this series.



INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 3 (SEATTLE)  
(Testimony of Barbara Hartle—Continued)

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THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Seattle, Wash.*

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9:05 a. m., in room 402, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash., Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, staff investigator, and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

I would like to recall to the stand this morning the witness who is now occupying the stand, Mrs. Barbara Hartle.

**FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MRS. BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED  
BY SPECIAL UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHAL DOROTHEA  
HALL**

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, the committee is considering at this time legislation which has been referred to it regarding the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits.

Will you tell the committee, please, what you know of the attitude of the Communist Party with reference to that requirement of the Taft-Hartley Act relating to non-Communist affidavits?

Mrs. HARTLE. The general position of the Communist Party is that it opposes that particular section of the Taft-Hartley Act very strongly, although its general position is also that it opposes the whole Taft-Hartley Act. But the special attention and interest of the Communist Party was to that affidavit clause—very much opposed to it.

However, when the time came that certain unions felt it necessary to comply with this act, the Communist Party leaders, it was reported to me, nationally—and discussions were held locally—decided that it would be necessary for some officers in some unions and for some unions to comply with this act instead of taking a flat-out stand of being against it and refusing to sign. And the reason that was given by the national Communist Party leadership was that to refuse to sign

this would mean that certain labor leaders would lose important union connections through, of course, not being able to sign it, would not be able to stay in their offices. So it was decided that some people would sign this affidavit, especially if they weren't too well known as Communists and—well, you might say could possibly get by with it.

It was decided also that others would refuse to sign it, especially persons whose offices weren't so important and persons who were so well known as Communists that they wouldn't be able to get away with it, so to speak.

One of the approaches toward the problem that I heard about was that some of these officials who were going to sign, who had been and were members of the Communist Party, would send in letters of resignation to the Communist Party and resign from the Communist Party. I never did see any such letters sent in. I never did see any such letters, but I have heard discussion that such letters should be written of resignation.

In a later period, I became aware of the fact that people who had signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit were not considered as being out of the Communist Party and that was in connection with the underground. I was informed, through the underground channels, from Henry Huff, that there were some persons in the Taft-Hartley class, the resignation class, if you please, who had to be organized separately in an underground way and that these persons would be attached to the underground party, the underground setup.

This attachment was never fully made. One visit was made by Ralph Hall in the underground in an attempt to get in touch with Giles Evans, a Communist Party member of Sedro-Woolley, who was supposed to have something to do with leading this Taft-Hartley setup.

Ralph Hall told me that he was not able to see Evans, that Evans was not available or made himself unavailable, and later Huff told me that these Taft-Hartley people were acting as though they believed it when they resigned from the Communist Party, that they weren't carrying on their meetings, they weren't working in an organized way, and that this had to be corrected.

The only other person whose name I learned in that connection was the name of Earl George in the Seattle area, who was also told to me by Huff to be in that category.

MR. TAVENNER. By being in that category, you mean to actually sign the non-Communist affidavit but nevertheless to continue in Communist Party activities, is that correct?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes, that is the understanding that I had. These were called Taft-Hartley people. I had heard the discussions that they were to sign and send in letters of resignation. Whether they did so or not, I do not know. I never saw those letters. But they were called Taft-Hartley people, and they were. I was told they were thus organized, and these names were given me.

MR. TAVENNER. Now I understand that it was the purpose of the Communist Party, from what you have said, that those who were less important in the party should go ahead and resign their positions rather than to sign the non-Communist affidavits?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes, both less important in the party and less important in the union office.

MR. TAVENNER. But the real leaders of the Communist Party, who were also leaders in their respective unions, were advised to sign the non-Communist affidavit?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is the understanding that I had: That there were important Communists and important offices, and that for them to refuse to sign would mean that they could no longer be officers and influence people in these unions and in the labor movement, and that this would mean losing important connections for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now do I understand that the purpose of writing letters of resignation was to create a sham situation by which it would appear that the person was no longer an actual member of the Communist Party; yet it was intended that he be organized underground so that his identity as a Communist Party member be kept in security?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is the case. What I heard about it was that it was merely a self-serving technicality.

Mr. TAVENNER. If that policy were followed, then the Taft-Hartley Non-Communist Affidavit Act would have no effect for the purposes for which it was designed, would it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that would seem to me to be the case.

Mr. TAVENNER. That being true, it becomes more important than ever that labor unions be alert in discovering who among its leaders are actually members of the Communist Party. Isn't that true?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true. Some experience that I have had as a Communist in the labor movement has thoroughly convinced me that 1 or 2 alert labor leaders in a union, as to the Communist Party, can be a very effective bar to the Communist Party gaining entrance there. This is even recognized among Communists. It is even said that some unions are very difficult to get a start in because so-and-so are in there and are not apathetic about the situation but are on guard for their union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Alert leadership then within the union, you would say, is more important than any statutory provision that could be enacted?

Mrs. HARTLE. It does seem that way to me from my experience.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, your knowledge and experience within the Communist Party has been so vast and over such an extended period of time that we have not in a short hearing such as this been able to cover anything like your full knowledge and experience in the party, but I believe at this time, rather than to discuss special provisions or special experiences that you have had in the party, we should go back and make it plain what the organizational setup of the party is in this area and then go a little further in the development of membership in the Communist Party. I believe you have spoken of this as being district No. 12, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; it has been known as district No. 12.

Mr. TAVENNER. And district No. 13 is the area to the south of here, comprising California and other States?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is so.

Mr. TAVENNER. What area is comprised within district No. 12?

Mrs. HARTLE. The State of Washington alone was in 1950, when I left Seattle, the area that comprised this district. It was then called a State organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. At an earlier date was district 12 more all-inclusive?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. When I first joined the Communist Party in the early 1930's, the district included Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Alaska.



Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the approximate dates when this district was divided into smaller districts, geographically?

Mrs. HARTLE. The only actual change that took place was when Oregon, the organization in that State, became a separate State organization in 1947.

I think that I should explain that an attempt was made to make Idaho a separate State organization. How successful that was, I don't know. It was taking place at the time that I was leaving the area.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what category is Alaska now?

Mrs. HARTLE. At the beginning of World War II, Andrew Remes expressed to me that there was no use in worrying about trying to keep contact with Alaska. After that time, during the war and after the war, I know of no organization in Alaska. It is possible, though, that individuals were writing back and forth. I do believe that 1 or 2 branches had a member-at-large, in Alaska. Then in the latter part of the 1940's the waterfront section of the Communist Party spoke from time to time of a few contacts and members in Alaska.

I do know of two members who went from Seattle to Anchorage and who kept contact with the Communist Party waterfront section after they left here, and that was Norman Carpenter and his wife.

Mr. TAVENNER. Returning now to district 12, relating to the State of Washington, will you tell us now how the organization is broken down into sections or branches?

Mrs. HARTLE. In the last period that I was in Seattle and in the district, the organization was a district organization and then under regions. There was a region of northwest Washington; there was a region of southwest Washington; there was a region of Spokane, and usually called a section because it was smaller; and there was a north King County region; a south King County region; and the waterfront section which was not exactly a region but was more of a section. It was broken up that way. And there were clubs or branches or members besides that—small ones, like there are a few members in Vancouver, Wash., and in a few other places.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now were those regions broken up further into branches?

Mrs. HARTLE. The regions were then broken up into sections. The big regions would have 2 or 3 or 4 sections.

The region that I was the organizer of in 1948 and 1949 had 4 or 5 sections of different areas.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which region was that?

Mrs. HARTLE. That was the south King region, also called the aircraft region—aircraft concentration in that region.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since you have mentioned your work in that respect—I believe you have touched on it already in your testimony—where was that work centered in the aircraft industry?

Mrs. HARTLE. The south King region of the Communist Party, through a district decision, had as its assignment, concentration on the Boeing Aircraft Co. workers to attempt to gain members and influence among the Boeing workers, and specifically in the Aero Mechanics Union, of course, as the method of doing that.

Mr. TAVENNER. The employees in that plant were not confined to a particular union, were they?

Mrs. HARTLE. There is one main important union, the Aero Mechanics there, but it was possible to recruit other persons into the Communist Party who were not in that one main local.



Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, to what extent, if any, the Communist Party was successful, or unsuccessful, as the case may be, in its efforts to infiltrate that plant?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, my estimate of it—and I am certain that that was the estimate of the whole district leadership of the Communist Party—was that during the period of late 1947, 1948, and 1949, at the time that I was organizer in that region, that the efforts were almost entirely unsuccessful. From any standpoint of influence or success, you would have to say there was no success.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that not only was true as to the union or unions that you mentioned, but it was true as to employees generally in that point; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you assign any special reason for the failure of the Communist Party and its concentration in that field?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am sure that the heightened security regulations are the main reason. I feel that there is a subsidiary reason that is also important, and that is that the unions of the Boeing workers have had experience with Communists in the past and were able to throw off Communist leadership and membership in the past, and this, in my opinion, had quite a great deal to do with the inability of the Communist Party to make any headway into the union.

I often thought to myself, since I was especially assigned on that work and trying to make headway, that the Boeing Airplane Co. and the union must have found ways to guide their members away from the Communist Party, because the possibility of making progress seemed virtually impossible.

Mr. TAVENNER. The failure of the Communist Party under your leadership, which I am certain must have been very capable, in its concentrated effort at Boeing, deserves probably some study on the part of other great units of industry as to how communism may be successfully combated in industry.

Now returning to the question of the organizational setup of the Communist Party, will you break down the sections to branches, as far as you can recall—I think you would be more familiar with that in the regions in which you were at one time an organizer—and give us the Communist Party membership of the branches, as accurately as you can recall?

In giving us the names of any persons who were members of the Communist Party, I wish you would bear in mind several very important things: One is that we do not want surmise or speculation, which I am certain you are aware of, as to a person's membership; it should be based upon your actual knowledge or based upon Communist Party activities known to you.

I would like also that in the event you give us the names of persons who were members and you know that they were expelled at a later time or for any reason have withdrawn from the Communist Party that you also give the committee the benefit of that information.

Now with that instruction, will you proceed, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. After the breakup of the regions, then there was the breakup into the sections, and all of the regions in Seattle had these sections under them—3 or 4 or 5 sections; and in the south King area there was a Duwamish Bend section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may we interrupt the testimony of this witness at this point and call another witness?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, certainly.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

(Whereupon the committee proceeded to hear further testimony of Stanley William Henrickson, which is printed in pt. 6 of this title. At 9:45 a. m., he was excused from the stand, and the hearing continued as follows:)

**FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MRS. BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED BY SPECIAL UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHALL DOROTHEA HALL**

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you start to further answer the question I asked you, Mrs. Hartle, about membership in the Communist Party, I recall that in your earlier testimony you referred to a person as a member of the Communist Party by the name of Jess Fletcher. You recall that, do you?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to his having been a member without any further qualification.

Do you know whether he is now a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. It is my belief that he is not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what do you base your belief?

Mrs. HARTLE. On public statements of his that I have read in which he completely disavows any affiliation and expresses his opinion that the Communist Party is not a good organization but a bad one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not he testified in the Canwell hearing and at that time made public the fact that he had been a member of the Communist Party and had withdrawn from it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I recall that.

Mr. TAVENNER. And gave such facts to that body as he had within his knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember whether or not he was expelled from the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall when or anything of the circumstances?

Mrs. HARTLE. I recall that he was expelled after giving his testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he given a trial or a hearing?

Mrs. HARTLE. I remember no trial.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Now if you proceed, please, to give us the names of those whom you know of your own personal knowledge to have been members of the Communist Party within district 12.

Mrs. HARTLE. The names that I am most familiar with were some of those who were members in the South King region of the Communist Party, of which I was organizer in 1948 and 1949, and therefore very closely in touch with the membership.

One of the clubs of the South King region was the Aircraft Club. It was also called the Hal-Spring Club. This club consisted of persons who had formerly worked in Boeing's but had been fired by Boe-

ing's. It consisted of a few persons who were then working in Boeing's, who were fired later, and it consisted of a few persons who never had worked in Boeing's but were in there either as wives of members or in some other capacity, to help keep this club going. Members in this club were:

Vi Russell, she had worked in Boeing's and was not rehired after the 1946-47 strike. She lived quite far out in the south Seattle area.

George Russell, her husband, who had also formerly worked at Boeing's, was not rehired after the strike and who was a member of this club and also lived in the same place as his wife.

George Graham, a man who had worked at Boeing's, whom I had known as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane in the middle 1930's, whom I did not know to be organizationally connected with the party until after he left Boeing's, at which time he became a member of this club, the Hal-Spring Club. He lived near the Boeing plant in South Park.

Stacey Cole was a man who had been employed at Boeing's, who was also fired or not rehired, who lived in the central Seattle area around the Broadway district.

Merrill Kimple, who had also formerly worked at Boeing's, who had not been rehired after the strike and who lived in the far north part of Seattle and was a member of this club.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not he is the same person who appeared on the witness stand here yesterday?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes; I do. That is the same person.

I was a member of this club. I had never worked at Boeing's but as organizer of the South King region, with the objective of penetrating Boeing's, it was considered advisable that I should be a member of this important club.

Gus Carlson was a member of this club, because he was organizational secretary of the region at the time, and he was a member of it for the same reason that I was. It was considered an important club, important to the whole region. He lived in the central area of Seattle, had been a former lumber worker, and I believe that about covers him.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you continue with the membership in the South King region?

MRS. HARTLE. Some of the members of the South King region that I can remember—and some of these have been discussed before and perhaps I should just indicate that.

MR. TAVENNER. Where you recall their names having been mentioned before, just omit that, please.

MRS. HARTLE. Fern Kerr, wife of Frank Kerr, lived near Renton and was the literature director of the South King region.

Leo Canafax, husband of Caroline Canafax who has been mentioned. He was the press director of the South King region and lived in the Duwamish Bend housing project.

MR. TAVENNER. May I interrupt you there?

Are you acquainted with Caroline Canafax?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes; I am.

MR. TAVENNER. Is there any relationship between Caroline Canafax and Leo Canafax?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes, they are husband and wife.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Caroline Canafax was known by any other name?



Mrs. HARTLE. I knew her first as Caroline Newburger, and she was always called Kelly Newburger. Kelly was the name she was generally known by.

Mr. TAVENNER. The reason I mention that is that Reverend Redwell, who testified here yesterday, made reference to a person by the name of Kelly, who was responsible for bringing him into the Communist Party. Do you know whether that is the same person as Caroline Canafax?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is the same person, and I know that they were both members of the same club, the Duwamish Bend Club.

John Zobrist was for a time organizational secretary of the South King region and lived in the white center area.

Jim Garretson was a branch chairman of the Highland Park branch in the Renton area and lived in that Highland Park housing project and was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mrs. Jim Garretson, his wife, who was a member of the Highland Park Club, lived also in the Highland Park housing project.

John Davis. I believe he has been mentioned before.

Sally Davis, wife of John Davis, was a member of the Communist Party in the Renton Highlands housing project club and was an officer of that club.

Dale Maloney was a member of the Renton Club of the Communist Party.

Peter Lundin was a member of the Renton Club of the Communist Party and lived in that area.

Mrs. Peter Lundin, his wife, was a member of the Renton Club of the Communist Party and lived in that area.

Thorun Robel was a member of the Kenneydale Club of the Communist Party, lived in that area, and was chairman of that club.

Roy Jackson was a member of a club in the Renton area and was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mrs. Roy Jackson, his wife, was a member of the Communist Party in the Renton area.

Dorothy Paschal, the wife of Wayne Paschal, who has been mentioned before, was a member of a club in the Duwamish area, the Duwamish section of the Communist Party, and lived the same address out along Military Road that I had described for Wayne Paschal.

Zella Apt was a member of the South Park Club of the Communist Party, was organizational secretary of the Duwamish section and lived in the South Park area.

Roy Apt, her husband, was a member of the South Park Club and lived in the same area.

Douglas Apt, son of Zella and Roy Apt, was a member of the South Park Club and also lived with his parents at the same address.

Mr. VELDE. At this point, Mr. Counsel, I think we are ready for a short recess.

After the recess I, as chairman, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, and Mr. Frazier will continue with these hearings, and I appoint Mr. Jackson and Mr. Doyle to preside at a hearing in executive session in the commissioner's room.

The committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 10:07 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:17 a. m.)

(Whereupon, at 10:25 a. m., the hearing was reconvened.)



(Messrs. Jackson and Doyle are not present in the hearing room.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that recess was called, Mrs. Hartle, you were giving us the names of persons whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party in district 12. Will you continue please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Pearl Thrasher was a member of the South King region of the Communist Party. She had once worked at Boeing's and had been fired. She was for a time the press director of the South King region of the Communist Party and before that had been elected and served as representative in the Washington State Legislature.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party at the time she served in the legislature?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe that she was. I have been told by Communist Party leaders that she was.

John Watson was a member of the Rainier Valley section of the Communist Party and an officer in the Rainier Vista club, a Negro man, a young man, who lived in the Rainier Valley area.

Bill Shemeria was a member of the Communist Party in the South King area, lived in the South Seattle-Rainier Valley area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, may I make another suggestion?

In the event that you recall that any of the persons that you are naming are now deceased, do not make reference to them; there would be no point in doing so.

Mrs. HARTLE. Bill Hughes, husband of Josephine Hughes, was a member of a Rainier Valley branch of the Communist Party in the South King region and lived near Lake Washington—south.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say he is the husband of Josephine Hughes?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you previously identified Josephine Hughes?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is her occupation, if you know?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was a teacher in the Seattle public-school system. That was her occupation, and she had been an officer of a club in the south King region.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she hold that office at the same time that she was a teacher in the public-school system?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, sir; she did.

Dan Maletta was a member of the south King region in the Rainier Valley area and lived in that area.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should go back and ask you whether or not Josephine Hughes was discharged from her position as a teacher in the public schools?

Mrs. HARTLE. I had read that in the newspapers since I had been arrested and had come back to Seattle.

Harriet Pierce was a member of the Georgetown club of the Communist Party, of which I was also a member for a time, and lived for a time in that area. Also she lived and had a hamburger stand out on Bothell Way and still maintained her membership in that Georgetown club. She had once worked in the postal department and had been discharged and was interested in fighting the case and, when she received no interest from the Communist Party leadership, apparently did nothing further about it.

<sup>1</sup> Concurrently with this public hearing, Representatives Jackson and Doyle were conducting an executive session which is printed in pt. 6 of this series.

Mary Brodine was a member of the Georgetown club of the Communist Party and lived on the west side of Beacon Hill. She was the chairman of the Georgetown club for a period of time.

Ethel Roark was a member of the Georgetown club, was secretary of the club for a time, lived in Georgetown, where she had a small women's dress shop.

Helen Bradley was a member of a club in the south King region out toward the White Center area and lived in that area.

Keith Bradley, her husband, was also a member of a club in that area and also lived in that area.

Mrs. Redwell, wife of Reverend Redwell, was for a short time member of the Duwamish Bend club and lived in the Duwamish Bend housing project at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she leave the Communist Party at or about the same time that her husband testified that he left the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe she left it earlier. I believe she left on a vacation and became disconnected earlier, as I remember it.

Cecil Daily was a member of the Georgetown club of the Communist Party; lived in that area at that time.

Mary Salvus. I believe she may have been discussed before. She was a member of the Alki club of the Communist Party in West Seattle, member of the women's commission of the district for a time.

John Salvus, her husband, was also a member of the Alki club, lived in the Alki Point area, and had once been employed at Boeing's.

Mrs. Phil Ceis, wife of Phil Ceis, was a member of the Alki branch of the Communist Party, lived on Alki Point, was a member for a short period of time, and never active in the affairs of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I recall that you identified in the earlier part of your testimony a person by the name of Philip Luther Ceis.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same person?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that is the husband of the person you are now identifying?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you testified in connection with the husband that he was a building contractor in the city of Seattle.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that from time to time you received donations from him for Communist Party purposes?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you solicit and receive contributions from other persons in the community who were financially able to make substantial contributions to the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, most of the contributions that I collected did come from members of the Communist Party in the forms of a day's pay, month's pay, week's pay, in that type of campaign, being in the organizational phase. However, I do remember that I collected funds sometimes from persons who did almost nothing but contribute funds and were a source of funds for the party.

One of the persons whom I contacted 12 or 15 times for funds for the Communist Party was Henry Shain, S-h-a-i-n. He had a drug store at about Eighth and Union, and I contacted him at that drug

store a number of times and received amounts—oh, from \$10, \$15, or \$20 for the work of the Communist Party. And this varied during the period from 1943 to 1950. There would be lapses, but I would in some phase of work go back again and collect some funds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you pronounce that name again?

Mrs. HARTLE. Shain. S-h-i-a-n-e is the way I have spelled it. I have also seen it spelled S-h-a-i-n.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, in many other hearings it has been brought out that periodically and regularly contributions have been sought to keep the Daily Worker in operation. Was that true out here? Was there a special campaign put on every so often with the sob story that it was going to fold up if the brethren didn't contribute?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, a part of the work for funds in this district was for the Daily Worker.

Mr. CLARDY. You said something else. You used the word "substantial" in connection with the contractor a moment ago. What did you mean by that? Did he contribute regularly in some stated amounts that you can remember or what was the fact?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, by "substantial," in the field of work that I was in was that if someone gave \$100 or \$200, it was a great help on our quotas, because we always had quotas to fulfill. However, in the light of the whole district, you would not view \$100 as what you would call a substantial sum; it would be nearer \$1,000 which would be considered a really substantial contribution to the district.

Mr. CLARDY. This contractor or this man that you have identified, Witness—

Mrs. HARTLE. Ceis.

Mr. TAVENNER. The name of the contractor was Philip Ceis.

Mr. CLARDY. It was spelled oddly and I wanted to be positive.

Then would you say that he contributed over a period of time in the amount of several thousand dollars?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, I think it could easily have added up to a couple of thousand dollars.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you advise the committee more definitely as to the period of time over which you solicited funds from Mr. Shain?

Mrs. HARTLE. That was during the period of about 1943 to 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge that he knew that you were a member of the Communist Party when he made those contributions?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I am sure that he knew that I was an officer of the Communist Party and that he knew very well who I was and that I was an officer of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what do you base your statement that he had that knowledge?

Mrs. HARTLE. I base it on the type of conversation that we held and on the fact that he couldn't have known me as anything else in the city of Seattle, because that was my occupation and that was the work that I did morning, noon, and night. I had no other occasion to visit him for anything else except for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you known openly in Seattle as a functionary of the Communist Party?

<sup>1</sup> This individual testified on June 17, 1954, and gave his name as Henry Shain.



Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I was an open functionary of the Communist Party from 1942 until 1950 and spoke regularly at all Communist Party closed meetings and spoke openly as a Communist many, many times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not during the course of the period when he was making these contributions that he had any other means of knowing that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. If there had been the slightest doubt in his mind as to who I was or what he was contributing to, he could have found out from other persons with whom he was also associated, who I was. I have no reason to believe that he had any doubt at all. There was no reason to have any doubt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting at which he was present?

Mrs. HARTLE. I remember a Communist Party meeting to which he came in Victory Hall. It was called Victory Hall by the Communist Party, and that was at Third and Marion Street. It was in either 1943 or 1944. Or late 1943 or early 1944.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Were these contributions made to you in cash or were there ever times when it was by check or money order or some other form?

Mrs. HARTLE. They were made in cash.

Mr. CLARDY. Were any receipts issued by you?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, no receipts were issued.

Mr. CLARDY. You, however, had to account to someone above you, a little higher echelon, did you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, other persons, when I turned the money in, knew that I had collected the money and knew where it came from.

Mr. CLARDY. So that they could check back to see whether or not you were turning in all that you had collected?

Mr. HARTLE. Yes.

Mrs. CLARDY. That is all, Mr. Tavenner.

Mrs. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what knowledge you have, if any, as to whether or not Mr. Shain was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Remembering seeing him present at a membership meeting of the Downtown Branch was one of the things that led me to understand that he was a member, convinced me that he was a member, because no one else but a Communist would come.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same meeting that you referred to a moment ago?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. At Victory Hall?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a closed meeting of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. That was a closed meeting. It was a branch meeting and a closed meeting, and I have seen his name several times on membership lists of the Downtown Branch in connection with reregistration work.

Mr. TAVENNER. What would be the occasion for you to see such a



list? Is that the official list of the Communist Party to which you refer?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that was the membership list of the Downtown Branch. The occasion was that inasmuch as I was engaged in organizational and organizing type of work, I was always very much closely involved with the reregistration of the membership, and when I went into an area, into a club or section to help with the reregistration, in going over the list to see who was registered and who was not registered and still had to be visited, I saw many of the membership lists. I definitely remember his name on that list.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any other incident or fact which would have a bearing on your testimony that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, about the only other way that I can describe his membership is that he was what I considered at least an inactive member of the Communist Party, that he was active at least within the Communist Party—that his main contribution to the Communist Party was in the line of making financial contributions and relatively small ones; and whatever activity that he engaged in, if my memory serves me, was not within the organizational setup of the Communist Party, as such—I mean not as a branch officer or as a section officer or something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you advise the committee more definitely about the nature of the contributions which you solicited from him; that is, the purpose for which they were to be used and to what extent, if any, you discussed those matters with Mr. Shain?

Mrs. HARTLE. Well, the funds that I solicited from Mr. Shain were always direct funds for the Communist Party. The way I distinguish that is that there were so-called broader fund drives and broader names used in order to solicit funds around one issue and another from the people who were not members of the Communist Party, but I never found it necessary to explain to Mr. Shain what I wanted the money for or what it was to be used for. I came for the contribution and it was in the nature of to the sustaining fund of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. He knew then when you came in, without any word of explanation, what your mission really was?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. It would have been superfluous then to have explained anything to him?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think he would have thought I was a little bit stupid to explain it to him. I didn't have to explain it to him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any discussion with his wife on the subject of communism?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. I did have a discussion with her one time. She was with him in Victory Hall and the only thing that I can remember about that is that she apparently very highly disapproved of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall about the last occasion? When was the last occasion when you solicited funds from Mr. Shain?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I do. I remember making several contacts in a row, more or less on a monthly basis for a period in late 1949, early 1950, on a sort of monthly sustaining fund basis; for several months' period I made that contact with him and received funds.

Mr. TAVENNER. On those occasions did he ask you any question as to what use was to be made of the money which he was contributing?

Mrs. HARTLE. No. What I did was walk into the store and wait until he wasn't busy and take the money and leave—on most occasions when he had customers. Sometimes we discussed one matter or another.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he refuse at any later date to make contributions to the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Not to me he didn't. I didn't go back, because I went into other work, but he never refused; the last contact was successful in getting funds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now you were identifying Mrs. Phil Ceis when we got into this subject. Will you continue, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. She was a member of the Alki branch of the Communist Party for a short period of time and lived in the Alki Point area.

Horace Conrad was a member of the Communist Party in the west Seattle area and lived in that area. One of his main contributions was to paint signs for Communist Party affairs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. C-o-n-r-a-d.

Mabel Conrad was also a member of the Alki branch of the Communist Party, lived in that area. She has served as branch officer of a west Seattle branch in the south King region. She was also at the same time an official in the Washington Pension Union. I believe her title was secretary.

Emma Harman was a member of a branch of the west Seattle area, belonged to the Alki club. She had engaged in the past in legislative work, was a representative at the legislature. I did not know her then as a member of the Communist Party, but I have heard others discuss her as a member of the Communist Party at that time. I knew her in 1948-49 as a member.

Elmer Harman, husband of Emma Harman, lived at the same address as she did, was a member of the Alki branch.

Lorraine Hester was a member of the Alki branch of west Seattle of the Communist Party, was employed in some full-time capacity by the Washington Pension Union. I believe the title was treasurer.

Alice Kinney. Her former name was Alice Balmer Kinney. She was a member of the west Seattle section of the Communist Party, had once been a full-time organizational representative of the Northwest district in the middle 1940's, worked full time for the Northwest district, and I knew her then as a member of the Communist Party.

Katherine Plumb, often known as "Ketch" Plumb, was a member of a club in the west Seattle area in the 1948-49 period. I also knew her earlier when I first came to Seattle as the secretary of a section of King County and worked with her then in that capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that complete the names that you are presently able to recall from the south King region of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. There are several names of an earlier period, of 1942-45 that I was able to recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give them to us, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. One of those was Winifred Ceis, who was a member of the west Seattle section of the Communist Party and active in youth work of the Communist Party.

Another one that I can remember from that period is Rachmeil Forschmeidt, known as "Rocky." I knew him at one time as organizer of the west Seattle section of the Communist Party.

John Goforth was a member of the south King County Communist Party organization in a club around the White Center area.

MR. TAVENNER. Now will you give us the names of those that you can recall who were known to you to be members of the central region of the Communist Party of King County?

MRS. HARTLE. In the 1947 and 1950 period—that was the last period that I was in Seattle and acquainted—during this period I remember John Lawrie, Sr.—and I believe that all of these people lived in the central area of Seattle and, if not, I will make note of it. Perhaps that will save time.

I knew John Lawrie, Sr., as a member years ago of the district committee and as a member of the district review commission in this latter period. He is an old-time member of the Communist Party.

Paul Bowen, who lived in the south Seattle area but was organizer of the central region of the Communist Party.

Clark Harper, who lived in the central region, was organizer of the central region of the Communist Party.

Marian Camozzi Kinney. I believe she has been discussed.

Jack Lawrie, Jr., son of John Lawrie, lived in the central area, was organizational secretary of the central region of the Communist Party, had worked at Boeing's and was not rehired after the strike.

Betty Collins lived in that same area, had served as a branch officer in that area, to my knowledge.

Ann Carlson was a member of a club in the central region and had as her assignment from the Communist Party work in the Progressive Party.

Oiva Halonen was a member of the Communist Party in the central region, lived in that area and was connected with the national groups work of the district.

Tiami Halonen, his wife, was a member in the central region, had held branch officership, was also interested in and connected with national groups work, specifically among the Finnish people.

Lenus Westman was a member of a club in the central region and lived in that area. Most of his Communist Party activities were in mass work at that time, like the Progressive Party or election work.

Bill Cumming was a member in the central region, lived in the Yesler Terrace housing project.

Dorothy Cumming, his wife, also lived in the Yesler Terrace project and was a member of the club in that area.

John Boan was a member of the downtown club, which is part of the central region, was a member of the Washington Pension Union and did his work for the Communist Party in that capacity.

Abe Bolotin was a member of the central region of the Communist Party, belonged to a club in the Madison Street area and was a long-time member. I had known him in membership in the King County party from the time that I came until shortly before I left.

Shorty Brooks, also known as William Brooks, which I believe was his given name, was a member of the downtown club of the Communist Party. He spent most of his activity in selling tickets on raffles and raising funds and traveled around on a motorcycle.



Gladys Castle Young was a member of a club in the central region. I had known her early as branch and section officer of the Communist Party and knew her then as a member of a club in that region.

Ethel Kramer, member of the downtown club of the Communist Party, was active in selling *People's World*, especially near the farmers' market, and that was her main activity. She lived in the downtown area.

Madeline Patteson or P-a-t-t-i-s-o-n—I am not sure of the correct spelling—known as "Patty," was a member of the downtown club. I knew her once as literature director of the downtown club of the Communist Party.

Paula Alexander, I believe, has been discussed.

Ed Mayovsky was a member of a club in the central region, was a club officer and was known to me as a club officer.

Ralph Davis was a member in the club in the central region. He is a Negro man. I remember that he and some other person, possibly his brother, played music for some affairs. I have seen him at Communist Party meetings a number of times in the 37th district.

Seward Frazier was a member of the Communist Party in the central region. He belonged to one of the 37th district clubs in that area and lived in that area.

Kater Sumler was a member in the central region, was a young Negro man and his Communist Party assignment was in youth work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his last name, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. S-u-m-l-e-r.

Sarah Parker was a member of a club in the central region. She is an elderly Negro woman and was often active in helping get up social affairs for the Communist Party to raise funds.

Louis Mouton was a member of a club in the central region who had transferred to that region during about this time from either Kirkland or Bremerton, and whom I had met with in my own home and spoken with about his transfer in his membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may we have a short break at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes. (Whereupon, at 11:12 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 11:22 a. m.)

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a. m., the hearing was reconvened.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, you identified a few moments ago a person by the name of Lenus Westman as a member of the central region branch of the Communist Party or section of the Communist Party. Do you know whether that individual had been at any time elected to the Washington State Legislature?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I do know that he was at one time elected and served in the Washington State Legislature.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether he actually served in the legislature or whether he was denied qualifications?

Mrs. HARTLE. There was such a problem that I read about in the *Washington New Dealer* of that time; and whether he actually served or not—I do know that there was a great problem before him as to whether he could serve or whether he was a member of the Communist Party and not eligible to serve.



Mr. TAVENNER. Was the question of his Communist Party membership involved in the question of whether or not he should be permitted to serve?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that was the question that was involved.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not positive in your own recollection as to what the outcome of the dispute was, are you?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I am not. I don't remember all the details of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you recall whether or not he was permitted to serve?

Mrs. HARTLE. My impression was that he was permitted to serve, but I am not certain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you completed your statement of your present recollection of membership in the central region?

Mrs. HARTLE. There was an industrial section of the central region, and I do recall the names of some of the members of that industrial section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give them to us, please?

Mrs. HARTLE. Elmer Thrasher was a member of this industrial section. He lived in the South Park area. His wife was Pearl Thrasher whom I have mentioned before.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe Pearl Thrasher was the one who was elected to the State legislature, wasn't she?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, she is the one. Before going into the industrial section of the central region, Elmer Thrasher was for a short time organizer of the south King region of the Communist Party before I assumed that post.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not there was any important function that Elmer Thrasher performed in the industrial section of the party?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was chairman of a branch in the industrial section, in the building trades. He was a member of one of the building-trades unions, the carpenters' union.

Another one whom I recall is Ed Kroener. He lived in the Duwamish Bend area, in the Duwamish Bend housing project, with his wife Donna Kroener, who was a member of the south King region and the Duwamish Bend club, but he was a member of the industrial section inasmuch as he was a member of the machinists' union, local 79.

Gene Robel, whom I have mentioned before, and Glen Kinney were also members of this industrial section.

John Neill was a member of the painters' branch in the industrial section.

Jack Bitterman, then husband of Ruth Bitterman, was a member of this section in the machinists' branch and was for a time chairman of that branch.

Ray Campbell was also a member of the industrial section in the central region. He was a member of one of the A. F. of L. unions and in one of those branches, and he lived on Aurora, north—not on Aurora but in that Aurora north area is what I mean.

(At this point Mr. Doyle returned to the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. There were other people that I can remember in the 37th district branches in the 1942 to 1947 period, who at one time or another were members there. That was before the central region was organized. Some of these names were:

Herb Carr was a member who lived in the Jackson Street area, a Negro member of this 37th district branch.

John Ragland was a Negro man who lived in this area and was a member of the branch for a time.

Chuck Richardson was a member of the 37th district branch, lived in the 37th district area.

These were branch members.

Andy Marshall was a member of the 37th district branch. He was employed for a time in a steel mill in the West Seattle area.

(At this point Mr. Jackson returned to the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. James Taylor was also a member in this 37th district branch and dropped out of the party before I left Seattle.

All of these persons that I have mentioned I do not remember as members after 1947. They either disappeared—and in the case of Taylor, I definitely know that he dropped out of the party—quit the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I dislike to have to interrupt the witness' testimony so frequently, but our schedule is so full that we have to work it in the best way we can; and I would like to excuse the witness for the present time and call another witness.

Mr. VELDE. Very well.

Witness was temporarily excused.)

(Whereupon the hearing continued with the testimony of Henry Shain, which is printed in pt. 6.)

# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 3 (SEATTLE)

(Testimony of Barbara Hartle—Continued)

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Seattle, Wash.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9 a. m., in room 402, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash., Hon. Donald L. Jackson (chairman), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, staff investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, clerk.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

The Chair would like to make an announcement at this time to the effect that due to the heavy schedule and the fact that a number of important witnesses have not been heard up to this time the committee will be in session tomorrow, Saturday, from 9 a. m. until 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Call your first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, please.

## FURTHER TESTIMONY OF BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED BY SPECIAL UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHAL DOROTHEA HALL

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, at the time that I asked you to step aside from the witness stand yesterday you were giving us the names of persons known to you to have been members of the Communist Party in King County in the State of Washington.

Will you continue, please, with other regions or sections of King County and give us the benefit of your information as to Communist Party members?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Ed Carlson was a member of the South King region of the Communist Party, a member of the South King regional committee for a time, and was also in the machinists' branch of the Communist Party in the industrial section at one time.

Margaret Donaldson was a member in the Duwamish Club of the Communist Party in the South King region, lived in the Duwamish Bend housing project for a time. I especially knew of her membership through a conference between herself, myself, and Ralph Hall regarding her membership status and some problems that she had regarding her child.

James and Ruth Cleland were members of the Communist Party in the 37th district area in between 1942 and 1947, and I knew them somewhere between that time as members of the Communist Party and attended their club meetings with them during that time.

In the Yesler Terrace branch of the Communist Party I remember an Eleanor Schneider, and I remember that she was expelled from the Communist Party.

In the downtown branch of the Communist Party, in between 1942 and 1947 I remember Jack Blair as a member and remember that he was expelled from the Communist Party.

I also remember George Crowley, who was also organizer of the 35th district section for a period of time, and he was expelled from the Communist Party.

I also remember Howard F. Smith in the downtown branch of the Communist Party. I remember that he was an owner of a hotel in the Jackson Street area and also that he was expelled from the Communist Party.

In the downtown area I remember Al Meservey as a member of the branch and have attended branch and King County functionaries' meetings with him.

I also remember Cecil Stoner as a member of the Communist Party. I discussed his membership with him in the district office of the Communist Party at a reregistration period when I reregistered him, assigned him to a branch.

I remember Vince Valdoster Price as a member of the Communist Party, and I remember him in connection with his attendance at district and King County Negro commission meetings, meetings which were closed except to members of the Communist Party.

Also, in the Rainier Valley area lived Forrest Crumpley. I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with him in the middle 1940's.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those you have mentioned to this point have been chiefly from the south region of King County; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. The south and central region also.

I do remember some names from other regions, many of them through functionaries' meetings, through being officers or in some way active.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean other regions of King County or other regions of the State?

Mrs. HARTLE. Of King County and other regions of the State as well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us confine ourselves at present to the various regions of King County. Then we will proceed to the others.

What about the north region?

Mrs. HARTLE. The north King region in the period of 1937-50—I remember, besides persons who have already been mentioned, Charles Legg, who resided in the interbay area. I have met with him in meetings of the Interbay Club of the Communist Party.



Robert Barnes lived in the north end of Seattle. I have met with him in King County functionaries' meetings. He has been an officer of a section of north King County.

I remember Margaret Barnes, his wife, also attending King County functionaries' meetings.

Eugenia Allen, who lived in the Ballard area and with whom I have attended King County functionaries' meetings.

Weir Allen, who also lived in the Ballard area, husband of Eugenia Allen, and with whom I have also attended Communist Party meetings, including branch meetings in Ballard.

Annabelle Camozzi Bitterman. I knew her as Annabelle Camozzi. I knew her as a section organizer of a north King section and have attended King County functionaries' meetings with her.

Joseph Butterworth was a member of a professional type of branch in north King County. I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with him. He has been an officer of a branch in north King County.

Bart Hamilton was a member of north King region. I have attended functionaries' meetings with him and held personal conferences with him regarding Communist Party special assignments of work.

Nellie Irish is an elderly woman. I knew her as a member of the Communist Party in north King County and have attended King County functionaries' meetings with her.

Dorothy Kistler was a member of the Communist Party, lived in the north King region. I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with her.

Berta Pettus was a member of the Communist Party in the north King region, lived in the Lake Union area in a houseboat. Her husband was Terry Pettus, one of the defendants in the Smith Act trial. I knew her as being assigned by the Communist Party to work for the People's World Northwest edition.

John Daschbach was a member of the north King area of the Communist Party. I knew him as a member of the district committee. I knew him as having Communist Party assignments in the labor school, the Pacific Northwest Labor School, and the Civil Rights Congress.

Vivian Stucker was a member and officer of the north King region of the Communist Party and lived in the university district area at that time.

Marjorie Daschbach, wife of John Daschbach, also lived in the north King area, was a member of that region. I have met with her in functionaries' meetings of King County.

Ed Alexander was north King regional organizer of the Communist Party, had been a district committee member, had been district educational director. He was expelled from the Communist Party.

Loris Hall was a member of the north King region of the Communist Party. I have met with her in meetings regarding women's work of the Communist Party and in King County functionaries' meetings.

From an earlier period, between 1942 and 1947, I remember several names of members in the north King area.

Bridget Guilmet was a member who lived in the north Seattle area and I have attended Communist Party meetings with her.

Dolores Remes was the wife of Andrew Remes. I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with her and have attended large district board meetings at which she was present.

Kay Stearn was a member and officer in one of the north Seattle sections and I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with her.

Victor Case. I have discussed his Communist Party membership with him in the presence of Andrew Remes and I have met with him in King County functionaries' meetings.

Jim Carruthers and Marian Carruthers, husband and wife. I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with them.

W. A. Bourke, I knew as a member in a north Seattle-Ballard club and knew that he was a member of a lumber union.

In the very early 1942-44 period, I remember some members in the Queen Anne section of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What particular area of King County was the Queen Anne section allocated to?

Mrs. HARTLE. It is in the north King County area.

I might explain that in that earlier period there were separate sections instead of a whole region of north King County.

In the Queen Anne section in about the 1942-44 period I remember Genevieve Baker, whom I knew as an officer of the Queen Ann section.

Perry Baker, husband of Genevieve Baker, whom I also knew as an officer of the Queen Anne section.

Alice Friel, whom I knew as an officer of the Queen Anne section.

Helen Hautala, whom I knew as a member of a branch in the Queen Anne section and have met at her branch meetings with her, have personally discussed her membership with her.

Fletcher Jarvis was a member of one of the clubs in the Queen Anne section, an officer of one of the clubs, and I have attended club and functionaries' meetings with him. I also knew him in a still earlier period in the late 1930's as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane, Wash. and attended functionaries' meetings with him there.

Elmer Strom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the Queen Anne area and have attended his branch meetings with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he holds any position with the city government in Seattle?

Mrs. HARTLE. I do not know what he is doing now. I do recall that at that time he was connected with the fire department.

Mrs. Elmer Strom, wife of Elmer Strom, and known as Queenie Strom, was a member of a club in the Queen Anne section, and I have attended her branch meetings with her.

Elsie Jarvis, wife of Fletcher Jarvis, was a member of a club in the Queen Anne section. I have attended her club meetings with her. Mrs. Jarvis has either been expelled or dropped by the Communist Party. I remember that she was quite strongly in disagreement with some of its policies and ran into difficulties over her membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any other section or region of King County which you have not covered?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I believe that I can remember some names from the waterfront region. I have some of those.

James K. Bourne was organizer of the waterfront section of the Communist Party—full-time organizer, and he was expelled from the Communist Party.

Margaret Backlund, wife of Carl Backlund, a member and officer in the waterfront section of the Communist Party and expelled or suspended from the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe that you have identified Carl Backlund earlier than this in your testimony, have you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should state, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Carl Backlund is under subpoena. He has advised the staff of the committee that he was a member of the Communist Party. He has cooperated in giving the staff information within his knowledge, and I think that statement should be made at this time so that his position would not be misunderstood.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that he has withdrawn from the Communist Party.

Mr. HARTLE. Yes, I believe that lies within my knowledge, too.

Grace Mutch, known as "Tootie" Mutch, was a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party, and I have met with her in King County and waterfront section functionaries' meetings.

Burt Nelson, a member of the waterfront region of the Communist Party, chairman of the longshore branch in that region. I have known him as a district committee member and have attended many district and King County functionaries' meetings with him.

Gus Rystad was a member and officer of the waterfront region. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with him. He was in the longshore branch of the Communist Party.

Robert Kinney, in the waterfront region of the Communist Party. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with him.

Jean Harding was a member of the waterfront region. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with her.

Mabel Belka. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with her.

Carl Ranta was a member and officer in the waterfront region. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with him.

Nell Ranta, his wife. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with her. She was an officer of the waterfront region.

Larry Rogers was a member of the waterfront region. I have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with him.

Earlier members in the waterfront section that I remember in about a little after the middle 1940's—about 1946-47—I remember Steve Glumas as a member of the waterfront section and have attended King County functionaries' meetings with him.

And I remember Neil Crowe and have attended waterfront and King County functionaries' meetings with him. Both of these to the best of my knowledge have left the area, and that is why I didn't see them after that period of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that constitute the names that you are now able to recall who were members of the Communist Party within King County?

Mrs. HARTLE. There are a few additional names that I recall that I don't believe that I have mentioned.

I recall Vince Davis as a member of the Communist Party. I handled his transfer into this area from the Pennsylvania district,



and I knew him as having a Communist Party assignment in Progressive Party work.

Two additional names from the Queen Anne area I remember, in the earlier period, Dave Mero—in the 1942-44 period—as a member of the Communist Party and have attended branch and functionaries' meetings with him.

I remember in the North King County area as additional name—Wyman Logan. I remember him as helping to operate the Communist Party bookstore, known then as the Workers Book Store, in conjunction with his wife Beatrice Logan. I have attended King County functionaries' meetings with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that testimony virtually exhaust your present recollection of Communist Party members in King County?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe it does to a great extent. I probably could think of additional names, but these are ones that have come readily to my mind and that I knew well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed now to give us the names of persons whom you recall, from your personal knowledge, who were members of the Communist Party in other regions and in other section organizations of the Communist Party in the State of Washington—or I may say, in the district, which would have included, I believe, Idaho.

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct, it would include Idaho for a part of the time.

From the northwest Washington region in the latter period of the Communist Party organization I remember William "Red" Wallace, who lived in Bellingham, whom I knew as section organizer of the Communist Party in Bellingham and whom I knew as active as a Communist Party member in the International Woodworkers of America, IWA.

Mrs. William Wallace, who lived in Bellingham, wife of William Wallace, whom I knew as an officer of the Bellingham section of the Communist Party.

Brook Carmichael, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the northwest Washington area. I have attended northwest Washington and district functionaries' meetings with him, knew him as active as a CP member in the IWA.

Ellie Henderson, wife of Stan Henderson,<sup>1</sup> whom I knew as a member and officer of the Everett section of the Communist Party.

Mel Luddington, whom I knew as an officer of the Everett section and of the northwest Washington region of the Communist Party.

Algot Starr, whom I knew as a member in the Everett section of the Communist Party, have attended Everett Communist Party meetings with him.

Frank Batterson, whom I knew as organizer of the Everett section of the Communist party.

Al Nygren, whom I knew as Everett section organizer of the Communist Party.

Margaret Nygren, wife of Al Nygren, whom I knew as section secretary of the Everett Communist Party.

On the Olympic Peninsula I remember Vivian Gabaury. I have attended district functionaries' meetings with her as a representative from the Port Angeles area.

<sup>1</sup> Identified on p. 6149 as same individual as Stanley William Hendrickson.



Mr. TAVENNER. I believe there are other persons from these general areas whose names you have mentioned earlier in your testimony and that you are not now duplicating your testimony by naming them again, is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. That is correct. There are others in that area.

Did you wish me to name them again?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I just wanted to make your testimony clear on that point.

Mrs. HARTLE. In the Everett area I remember Verle Hemeke. I have attended Everett and district functionaries' meetings with him and knew him as a Communist Party member in the IWA.

In the southwest Washington area I remember Ed Crabtree. I remember him as press director of the southwest Washington section and have attended district functionaries' meetings with him.

I remember Blackie Meyers. I have attended southwest Washington functionaries' meetings at which he was present.

Leona Moir, wife of Gordon Moir. I remember her as secretary of the southwest Washington section of the Communist Party.

In Tacoma I remember Mary Sutherland, an officer of the Tacoma section, have attended Tacoma and district Communist Party functionaries' meetings with her.

Robert Decker, a member and officer of the Tacoma section of the Communist Party in the latter period of my officership in the party in Seattle. I knew him earlier also as a Communist Party member in Seattle and attended King County functionaries' meetings with him in the earlier 1944 period.

John Collins I knew as a member of the section committee of the Tacoma section. I have attended Tacoma and district functionaries' meetings with him.

Naomi Ellison I have known as a member of the section committee of the Tacoma Communist Party and have attended Tacoma and district functionaries' meetings with her.

Victor Ellison, husband of Naomi Ellison. I have attended district functionaries' and Tacoma functionaries' meetings with him. I have known him in the latter 1930's as a district committee member and as organizer of the Tacoma section of the Communist Party.

John Greenman I have known as a member of the section committee of the Tacoma Communist Party and have attended Tacoma and district functionaries' meetings with him. I was a fellow delegate with him to the Communist Political Association convention in 1944 in New York, at which time the Communist Party was dissolved and the CPA set up.

Clara Saari. I have attended Tacoma and district functionaries' meetings with her, have known her as dues membership secretary of the Tacoma section of the Communist Party.

I have known a Mr. Hopkinson as a member of the Tacoma section of the Communist Party and as a person who was active as a Communist in the Washington Pension Union.

Bob Patrick. I have known him as an officer and member of the Tacoma section of the Communist Party. I knew him formerly as a member and branch officer of the King County Communist Party, and I knew him also as organizer at one time of the Spokane section of the Communist Party.

Jo Patrick. I knew her as a member and officer of the Tacoma section of the Communist Party. I knew her previously as a King County member and functionary and as a Spokane member of the Communist Party.

I remember the names of a couple of people in the Grand Coulee branch—A. Whiteside. I remember him as chairman of the Grand Coulee branch of the Communist Party.

Rachel Grant. I remember her as secretary of the Grand Coulee branch of the Communist Party. I have met with both of these persons in branch meetings of the Grand Coulee branch in Grand Coulee.

I remember a Mr. Peterson as a member of the Grand Coulee branch, whom I had known earlier as a member of the Communist Party in the Bainbridge branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you able to recall his first name?

Mrs. HARTLE. He was called Pete, and I do not know his initials.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give further identifying information as to where he may have lived at different periods?

Mrs. HARTLE. He did live on Bainbridge Island and was a member of the Bainbridge Club of the Communist Party. Then he worked for a while in the Grand Coulee area and I met him there and discussed his membership with him on a trip to Grand Coulee, and I knew him there as a member of the Communist Party.

In an earlier period, 1942 to 1944, I remember the names of several persons in the Seattle industrial section.

One was Herb Johnson, with whom I have attended King County functionaries' meetings and who was at that time in the boilermakers' branch of the Communist Party.

I remember Ed Friel as full-time organizer of the industrial section for a period in this time that I have mentioned.

I remember Dorothy Jackins, wife of Harvey Jackins. I remember her as secretary of the Industrial Section of the Communist Party.

I remember Marjorie Rabbitt, wife of Tom Rabbitt, at a later period, who was a member of an aircraft branch of the Communist Party.

I remember Bill Corr, who lived in the south Seattle area and was a member of the Welders' Branch of the Communist Party.

I remember the names of some members from Spokane and Idaho, from the time that I was the organizer of the Spokane section and of the Inland Empire Council of the Communist Party, 1941-42.

Some of the names that I remember are Roy Lampitt—I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with him.

John Clark. I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with him.

Herman Schulz. I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with him and knew him as a member of the railroad branch.

Maybelle Wheeler. I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with her and knew her as the dues membership secretary of the Spokane section.

Grace Dahlke. I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with her and have known her as an officer of a club in the Spokane area.

Harold Eddings. I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with him and have known him as an officer of the Spokane section.

Genevieve Eddings, wife of Harold Eddings. I have attended Spokane functionaries' meetings with her and have known her as an officer of a club of the Spokane section.

Earl Carpenter and Emma Carpenter. I knew them as members and officers of the Spokane section in that period.

Vernon Riley I believe has been mentioned.

John Hartle I knew as a member of the Communist Party and as an officer of the railroad branch of the Communist Party.

Lawrence Braman. I knew him as a member of the railroad branch of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Harlow Wildman. I knew him as organizer of the Spokane Communist Party and replaced him when I assumed that position. I knew him later as a Communist Party member carrying on his assignment in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union in Idaho.

Ralph Wildman. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in the Spokane area.

Jan Meyer. I knew her as a member for a short time of a professional branch of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Charles Powers. I knew him as a member of the Idaho section of the Communist Party. I knew him as carrying on his assignment for the Communist Party in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union in the Wallace-Kellogg area.

Al Manley. I knew him as organizer of the Coeur d'Alene section of the Communist Party and Mrs. Al Manley, his wife. I knew her as an officer of the Coeur d'Alene section of the Communist Party.

Fred Siefken. I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in Coeur d'Alene, and as carrying on his Communist Party assignment in a lumber union in Coeur d'Alene.

I had several additional names from the Spokane area:

William Graham. I have met with him in his branch meetings in Spokane. I knew him as a member of a lumber union in the Spokane area.

Frank Shanks. I have met in Spokane functionaries' meetings with Frank Shanks. I had known him in an earlier period as a member of the Communist Party as well and knew him to be for a time business agent of the Carpenters' Union of the Communist Party in Spokane, while he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mrs. Frank Shanks, wife of Frank Shanks. I have known her as a member and branch officer of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Norman Best. I have known him as a member of the Communist Party in Idaho and also in Spokane. I have attended both Idaho and Spokane functionaries' meetings with him.

Kay Best, wife of Norman Best. I have attended Communist Party meetings with her in Idaho and in Spokane.

Evelyn Simmonds. I have known her as a member and branch officer of a club of Spokane. I have attended functionaries' meetings of the Communist Party with her in Spokane.

In an earlier period——

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, before you go into the earlier period——

Mr. Chairman, this, I believe, is a convenient place for a 5-minute break.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. The committee has received a number of telegrams which I will read during that time.



(At this point Mr. Jackson read a number of communications which appear in the record in the appendix to these hearings.)

Mr. JACKSON. I might say to Mrs. Hartle that while you were out of the room a rather lengthy letter was read from Lois Blakes, who says that she has broken completely with the Communist Party. She extended her congratulations to you, stating that she confirmed in every respect the testimony that you are giving.

Mrs. HARTLE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you continue, please, with your testimony relating to those earlier who were members of the Spokane-Idaho group?

Mrs. HARTLE. There are three names that I recall from the 1941-42 period from the Idaho area. One of those is Lloyd Brooten, whom I had known in the late 1930's as organizer of the Coeur d'Alene section. I knew him as a member in this period of the Coeur d'Alene section and met with him in Inland Empire Council meetings.

Opal Brooten, his wife, I knew as a member of the Coeur d'Alene section, an officer of the Coeur d'Alene section. I have met with her in Inland Empire Council meetings of the Communist Party.

Red Brooten, a brother of Lloyd Brooten. I have met with him in Idaho functionaries' meetings of the Communist Party.

In an earlier period, 1933-39, in between those years, I remember the following members of the Communist Party:

Jim Haggin, who was a member of the section bureau of the Communist Party of Spokane, of which I was also a member.

Caroline Haggin, wife of Jim Haggin, who was a branch officer of a club of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Art Furnish, who was a member of the section committee of the Spokane Communist Party and a leader in the unemployed work of the Communist Party in the Unemployed Councils and in the Workers' Alliance.

Harry Crumbaker, who was a member of the section committee of the Spokane Communist Party.

Red Perry, who was a member of the Spokane Communist Party and a salesman of the Daily Worker on the streets of Spokane as his Communist Party assignment.

George Berner was a member of the section committee of the Spokane Communist Party and a Communist Party leader in unemployed work.

Joe Winburn, who was a member of the Communist Party in Spokane and active in unemployed work.

Elizabeth Schneider was a member and officer of a club of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Ed Lehman was a member of the Communist Party in Spokane. I signed his passport for him to go to Europe. He told me that he was going to go to Spain to take part in the armed conflict there. I was told later by district officers that he had deserted in Spain. I was also told that he had told of his disillusionment with that whole venture in an article in the Saturday Evening Post.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mrs. HARTLE. J. H. Van Orman was section organizer of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Ruth Van Orman, his wife, was section secretary of the Communist Party in Spokane.



Ernest Wallace was a member of the Downtown Club of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, have you identified a person by the name of Nels Spencer Ekroth?

Mrs. HARTLE. I have known Nels Ekroth as a member of the Communist Party in the waterfront section and have attended waterfront section functionaries' meetings with him in the latter 1940's.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the waterfront section of Seattle?

Mrs. HARTLE. Of Seattle, correct.

From Spokane I also remember Stan Iverson. I remember him as full-time organizer of the Communist Party of Spokane in the latter 1940's.

(At this point Mr. Scherer returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Earlier in your testimony you gave us the name of William "Red" Wallace at Bellingham and you stated that he was assigned to work in the IWA. Am I correct in that?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that was correct.

(At this point Mr. Doyle left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that indicate that members of the Communist Party were assigned to infiltration of that union?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party had a concentration policy in this district and one of the concentrations was to secure influence and membership of the Communist Party in the lumber industry. This was addressed to the whole lumber industry and addressed to all of the unions—CIO, A. F. of L., or whatever; it wasn't specifically addressed to the IWA. The facts of the matter are, though, that the Communist Party made more headway in the IWA than it did in other unions—lumber unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the headway which it made?

Mrs. HARTLE. The nature of the headway was that it was quite successful in the lumber field and especially in the IWA and in the lumber organizations that preceded the IWA. The IWA had other names, I know, in the past and changed the names, but was the same group of people—the same group of workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Communist Party successful in obtaining the election of Communist Party members to important positions within that union at any time?

Mrs. HARTLE. From at least the middle 1930's until I left Seattle in 1950, the Communist Party did have considerable influence in the IWA. At times it had members as international officers and district officers, special district 2 officers, and it always had a number of local union officers.

I think that I should add that by 1950 this influence had suffered some serious setbacks, and at least to my knowledge the main influence of the Communist Party that remained in the IWA was in the district 2 or the northwest Washington district.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what do you attribute this setback to Communist Party work within that field?

Mrs. HARTLE. I attribute it to the general educational campaign about communism in the main, and that there were forces and officers in the IWA who seriously resisted Communists having control or influence in that union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then again we cannot overestimate the importance of people prominent in their own fields in resisting communism,

whether it be labor or whatever it might be—being alert and active in resisting communism?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I believe that is true, and especially in the organized labor field. Labor union officials or members will have more influence on other labor union members and officials than probably other persons might have.

Mr. TAVENNER. It may be well for you at this time to advise the committee as to the names of persons who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party who secured positions of influence and leadership in any of the unions within the activity of the lumber industry.

Mrs. HARTLE. The most important officer of the Communist Party in the IWA was Karley Larsen, whom I knew as president of district 2 and for a period as an international officer in the IWA.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how recently he has held an international office?

Mrs. HARTLE. About 1948.

Another important officer of the Communist Party in the IWA was O. M. Orten, also known as Mickey Orten. I was present with him when he was a delegate at the 1938 national convention of the Communist Party.

William Wallace, whom I have already mentioned, was for a period president of district 2 of the IWA, while a Communist, while Larsen was an international officer. Wallace I have also known as an officer of the Bellingham local of the IWA.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you mean to identify Wallace as a member of the Communist Party—as an active member?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, as a member.

These things that I speak of don't have any reference to the union, as such, but they have reference to persons who were Communist Party members and active members at the time that they held these offices.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me interrupt you at this moment.

What was the policy of the Communist Party with reference to letting the rank and file members of a union know of the Communist Party membership of the leader that you were endeavoring to have elected to various offices within unions?

Mrs. HARTLE. The general policy was that the Communist members in a local would know that they were voting for a Communist and would be rallied to mobilize support for him to see that he was elected. In some situations there might be variations of not letting the members know that he is an actual member of the Communist Party but certainly giving strong direction of—"This is a progressive left-winger that needs to be supported"—leaving no doubt.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the Communist Party members always knew of the membership of the individual but the rank and file members of the union would not know?

Mrs. HARTLE. The rank and file members of the union in very many cases would not know, unless that official came out openly as a Communist, which was not done too often.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore if, as a result of the alertness of the union, the possible alertness of this committee and other governmental agencies, the rank and file members of unions can learn of the true identity of the Communists in their midst, it would go a long way toward solving the problem, wouldn't it?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. I have seen that problem solved already in unions in which I was trying to help penetrate as a Communist. I have seen that worked that way.

(At this point Mr. Doyle returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of other—

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me.

You say you have seen it worked that way. Do you have any specific instances where this committee has identified individuals?

Mrs. HARTLE. I was thinking, when I said that, of examples in Spokane. When I first joined the Communist Party, the Communist Party pointed out to me the importance of working in A. F. of L. labor organizations, whereupon I became a member of the Railway Women's Auxiliary, of which my husband was a member of the union, and became a fraternal delegate to the Central Labor Council, and in that way tried, as a Communist, to help build Communist membership in A. F. of L. unions.

There were some business agents and some officers of A. F. of L. unions in Spokane as far back as 1935 who were very alert to the meaning of this Communist penetration and combatted it so successfully that in some of those locals it was even impossible to secure one member for the Communist Party, and that is the kind of example that I was thinking of.

Mr. DOYLE. And that was away back in 1935?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, there were such officers of unions in the Spokane A. F. of L. who were very alert and who were very much disliked by the Communist Party for their ability to keep their members from joining the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. At this time, Mrs. Hartle, under the instructions issued by the chairman of the committee, you will be excused from the stand in order that you may proceed in custody to Portland, Oreg.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. HARTLE. I wish to thank the committee very much for letting me express my opinions here.

Mr. JACKSON. We appreciate it very much and we understand that you will be back tomorrow.

(The witness was temporarily excused and the committee proceeded to hear testimony of other witnesses which is printed in pt. 7 of this series.)

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<sup>1</sup> See pt. 9, for testimony of Barbara Hartle in Portland.





# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST AREA—Part 3 (SEATTLE)

(Testimony of Barbara Hartle—Continued)

SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Seattle, Wash.*

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9 a. m., in room 402, County-City Building, Seattle, Wash., Hon. Donald L. Jackson (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, William A. Wheeler, staff investigator; and Mrs. Billie Wheeler, acting for the clerk.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Call your first witness.

And let the record show that a quorum of the subcommittee appointed by the chairman, Mr. Velde, is present at this time.

(Whereupon the committee called another witness, Johsel Namkung, whose testimony appears in pt. 8, following which the proceedings were as follows:)

## FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MRS. BARBARA HARTLE, ACCOMPANIED BY SPECIAL UNITED STATES DEPUTY MARSHAL DOROTHEA HALL

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, when it became necessary to interrupt your testimony yesterday, we were discussing the activities of the Communist Party in endeavoring to infiltrate the International Woodworkers Union. You told us something about that and you were in the process of giving us the names of persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party who were active in the task of infiltrating that organization. I am not certain just where you stopped in your recital of the Communist Party members who occupied that category.

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe that I was starting to talk about Giles Evans, who was a member of the Communist Party in the northwest Washington region and an officer of the Sedro Woolley local of the IWA.

Another person was Brook Carmichael, Sr., who was a member of the Communist Party in the Everett area and a member of an IWA local also in that area.

Gorden Moir I knew as a Communist working in the IWA union in the Raymond-Aberdeen area.

William Graham I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane and as a member of the Spokane IWA local.

Algot Starr, whom I have mentioned as a member of the Communist Party, was a member of an IWA local in the Everett area.

Walter Belka, whom I have already mentioned as a member of the Communist Party in another connection, I also knew as working as a Communist as an officer of district 2 of the IWA.

Fred Siefken, whom I have already mentioned as a Communist in Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, was a member of the IWA—an officer in Coeur D'Alene.

A. A. Fisher, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party, I met with in meetings and conferences, especially in regard to Negro work in the IWA and work concerned with trying to open up job possibilities for Negro workers in the IWA. I knew him also to be a member of the IWA in the Everett area and knew of him as a member of the CIO council.

Ted Dokter, whom I have already mentioned as a member of the Communist Party, was a member of the Raymond-Aberdeen area, IWA.

Ray Glover, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party, the Enumclaw branch of the Communist Party, and whom I had met with in branch meetings in that branch, I knew while he was a Communist Party member as an official of the IWA local of the Enumclaw area.

William Shifferly, whom I have already mentioned as a Communist, was a member of an IWA local in the Port Angeles area.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you describe again to me, please, what his particular work was in the Communist Party or his affiliation?

MRS. HARTLE. He was a member of the Communist Party in the Cle Elum County area or organization of the Communist Party. I have met with him at district functionaries' meetings. I have known him as an officer of the Cle Elum County organization of the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. Now have you given us the names of all that you can presently recall who were members of the Communist Party and who were affiliated with the IWA?

MRS. HARTLE. To the best of my recollection I have given the names of those who I was sure were members of the Communist Party and members of the IWA at the same time.

MR. TAVENNER. I believe you told us yesterday that Mr. Karley Larsen was the most prominent of the members of the Communist Party who were affiliated with that union?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes, that is so.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you refresh our recollection, please, as to the objective of the Communist Party in concentration of effort within lumber?

MRS. HARTLE. The Communist Party's concentration policy in the Northwest district has always put lumber at the very top, as the one

important industry to pay attention to in an attempt to gain Communist influence and Communist membership.

This concentration policy was addressed to the whole lumber industry. By that I mean A. F. of L., CIO—if there would be any independent lumber unions or even unorganized lumber workers.

The Northwest district's greatest success and greatest activity, though, has been in the IWA, the International Woodworkers of America, and in that of the predecessors of that organization, as it went through different stages of organization and had other names; but it was comprised of more or less the same groupings of workers, with the same plants and employees involved.

A great deal of attention has been paid by the northwest district to its members and leaders in lumber unions, and from the middle 1930's until I left Seattle in 1950 the Communist Party has always had considerable influence in the IWA. This influence included international officers, district officers, and special district 2 officers; but by 1950 this influence had waned considerably and was not as strong—the Communist Party influence was not as strong by the time I left in 1950 as it had been in former times.

During this time the Communist Party was able to influence the policies and activities of the organization of the IWA to a considerable extent and many Communist-sponsored resolutions and policies were able to be gotten through the IWA and spoken on by the IWA during that time—policies that the Communist Party supported and advocated in its mass work and in its trade-union work.

Mr. TAVENNER. What person within the Communist Party was charged with the responsibility of organizing and executing Communist Party plans within the International Woodworkers of America, if any single person was charged with that responsibility?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, there was a single person charged with that responsibility and that person was Karley Larsen. In addition to that, a part of the concentration policy was that the top district full-time officials of the Communist Party also divided up the concentration, and the particular concentration that a top district official took was Henry Huff who had, as an assignment, special attention to lumber, as I had, as a district official my attention concentrated on aircraft.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Mr. Huff was the No. 1 Communist functionary in this area, was he not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you have mentioned a person by the name of Margaret Barnes during the course of your testimony.

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you refresh the recollection of the committee with regard to her and be certain that you give us all the facts within your knowledge regarding her?

Mrs. HARTLE. I knew Margaret Barnes as a member of the Communist Party in the north Seattle area. I have met with her in branch meetings and in functionaries' meetings of the Communist Party. I have no doubt of her membership. I have discussed her membership with her and I have known her well enough to know a great deal about her personal life and her background. I often discussed with her the fact that at one time or another we had both been waitresses, and I have no doubt in my mind that she was a member of the Com-



munist Party, for at least a year—at least a year a member of the Communist Party in the north-end area.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you also refresh the recollection of the committee with regard to Harry Crumbaker?

MRS. HARTLE. Harry Crumbaker was a member of the Communist Party in Spokane, Wash. He was a member for a period of the section committee of the Communist Party when I was also a member of the section committee. He was recruited into the Communist Party while I was in Spokane; I knew when he came into it. I have attended many Spokane functionaries' meetings with him. I have discussed the Communist Party and his membership in it with him many times.

I also know that he left the area in the late 1930's, and from then I do not know whether he was a member after that or not.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether at any time the Communist Party maintained a school of any character at Buckley, Wash.

MRS. HARTLE. I have no recollection of a school at Buckley, Wash.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know the approximate number of persons whose names you have given the committee during the course of your testimony?

MRS. HARTLE. My estimate is that it is more than 300. I have not counted them. I would imagine it to be that.

MR. TAVENNER. May I ask you to give further thought and study to this question, so that the committee may continue its interrogation of you, although it may not be able to do so in open session?

MRS. HARTLE. I think perhaps I can answer now, in saying that I was able to recollect the names of about 300 persons—members, and that I was able to note them down; but I realize that I have not covered all of my notes and perhaps have not quite reached that, not having counted the names.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the approximate strength, numerical strength of the Communist Party was in your district, district No. 12, and particularly in Seattle, during the past 5 years—at its peak during the last 5 years?

MRS. HARTLE. That question is difficult for me to answer for the last 5 years, because when I left Seattle in 1950, from that time forward I was never furnished with the number of membership and was not able to see charts the way I had done before.

MR. TAVENNER. Let me put the question this way:

What is the largest number of Communist Party members in district No. 12, to your recollection?

MRS. HARTLE. The largest membership of the Communist Party in this district, to the best of my recollection, was in about 1939. At that time the aim of the Communist Party was to achieve a membership of 5,000 in this district. A goal was set to achieve 5,000 members. That meant that at least 1,000 more members had to be recruited—somewhere in that neighborhood—and meant that about 4,000 were already members. My recollection is on that basis—that the district wanted 5,000 members and wanted to reach that goal. It was to be a high mark in the Communist Party of this district but had not yet reached that goal and needed to recruit about 1,000 members in order to make that goal, which then makes about 4,000 members. I also remember that the goal was not achieved.



Mr. TAVENNER. You say that the peak of the membership was in 1939. Why is it, if it is true, that the membership began to shrink in the Communist Party in this area, if it did shrink?

Mrs. HARTLE. My opinion is that the membership began to shrink in that period because the Communist Party program and policies after that period came in more direct conflict with the opinions of the American people, especially in regard to the international situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have no knowledge at the present time of the membership of the Communist Party in district 12, do you?

Mrs. HARTLE. No, I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was it that you determined to leave the Communist Party as a member or to terminate your membership?

Mrs. HARTLE. I think it is correct to say that I decided to leave the Communist Party and to terminate my membership on the day that I went to the FBI on March 12 of 1954.

I had thought that I had quit before then; I had desired to quit before then. I even quit paying dues before then and quit going to meetings before then, but in my mind I very sincerely believed that I quit the Communist Party on the day that I went to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have had no doubt in my mind since that I quit it.

Mr. TAVENNER. That action, of course, made all connection with the Communist Party a thing of the past; it made your termination complete in every respect. And I suppose, is it not true, that when you finally decided to take that action, it was easy from then on?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, that was the case; I had no more harassment from Communists after I went to the FBI.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances which led up to your decision to go to the FBI with the information that you had?

Mrs. HARTLE. After I was arrested and was brought back to Seattle, I was expelled by the Communist Party, and about a week later I was reinstated on some sort of a basis, I was informed, to neither of which I answered yes or no. In my own mind I thought I had quit the Communist Party.

I decided to go through the trial, to take whatever sentence that I received and to serve that sentence and to come back to my own life after that was over.

I went through the trial in a very strained circumstance: I think I was in a sort of no-man's land during that trial; I was at odds with the Communist Party and I don't think that anyone else had any very good idea of just what I was doing or what I was thinking.

After the trial was over, I agreed to be the last one out on bond, so that I would not have to be involved in Communist activity of raising bail for the rest of the defendants still in the jail. I came out on bond and went home to my family on a farm in eastern Washington. I was still determined never to be a member of the Communist Party again or engage in that activity, but I also said that I would go through with my sentence.

I came back to Seattle and then attempted to find a way to make a living, to go through this very difficult period while the appeal was being carried forward, and to try to get through it some way or another. With me it was just a matter of time.

When I came back to Seattle around the 1st of March, this was evidently taken as a signal by the Communists here that I had a

change of heart and wanted to get back into activity. I was so informed by one of the persons who spoke with me. I assured him that my health was bad, that I had to earn my living, that I did not wish to run around to all kinds of meetings, that I did not wish to speak out on all kinds of political questions, that I wanted to be a defendant, that I wanted to earn my living, that I was going to serve my sentence, and that was all. This did not deter the Communist leadership from pursuing me. I remember 1 day when 3 different groups of people came to me; every day someone came and wanted to involve me in one or another activity. To put it very bluntly, I was being put on the spot as to whether I was going to remain a Communist and speak to the Communist Party or whether I was going to be an "enemy."

The Communist Party succeeded in helping me make up my mind about it. I finally asked myself, "Why is this inordinate pressure necessary. Why is it necessary to absolutely and totally insist that I have to choose between the Communist Party and between renouncing the Communist Party? Why doesn't the Communist Party leave me alone and leave me in this middle no-man's land?"

Then, as a result of more and more pressure, as a result of using my name without my permission in a signed article that was printed in the People's World, as a result of trying to force me to sign a document of greetings to another Smith Act defendant, that I did not wish to sign, and becoming nasty with me about it, I thought of that—why this pressure had to take place—and I realized something that I just had not seen before—that what many people say about the Communist Party is true and not slander and not lies.

I had believed before that a great deal of what was said about the Communist Party was just an attempt to stop its work, and I realized that the same pressure that was put on me to force me to continue as a Communist, and letting me know that I would be in the worst kind of grace and an enemy if I didn't do so, was the same kind of pressure that the whole Communist movement uses, that the Government of Russia uses against the people. And the moment that I discovered that, I realized how blinded I had been, how indoctrinated I had been—that I had been truly mentally enslaved.

The term "mental enslavement" may sound like a propaganda term to many people, but when you have once been mentally enslaved yourself, it is no longer a propaganda term; it is true—I have experienced it. I detest it. I hope with all my heart that many, many present members of the Communist Party will think that over.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Let me say this to you, Mrs. Hartle: You are now speaking for the record; you are speaking to countless thousands of people who will see this in cold type. You are also speaking over the television, through the means of television, to a vast audience with many persons who have been members of the Communist Party but who have not had the courage to take the stand that you have taken here, and you are speaking to a great many people who are still deeply involved in the Communist Party and who likewise have not had the courage to take the step that you have taken; and if you have anything to say to them, now is the time to say it.

Mrs. HARTLE. I do think I took advantage of the opportunity to express my very sincere convictions about this matter. With me it is not a matter of just having cast aside one political faith to accept another one; with me it is casting aside a bad way of life for a good

and a better way of life, and I think that I want to say now, although I am a woman and a middle-aged woman at that, that with what I have found out, with the new freedom and joy that I have, that I am ready to give my life for my country any day in a fight against Soviet Russia or any other Communist country. And that is the way I feel about it, and I think the way I feel about it is more important than the things I have said about it.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions, except to say that we desire to continue, as the opportunity presents itself to the committee, to study the question of communism with this witness and to obtain her full and complete knowledge of the subject, which in this hearing we have only covered in a very meager way.

MRS. HARTLE. I wish to thank the committee again for the opportunity to express myself. I do know thousands of people in this State and all of those thousands, through these means, through the newspapers, and through the radio and television can know that I at least didn't go down the whole long road of trying to overthrow our Government and trying to serve world communism. And I am very happy that they know that I at least have turned away from that path and have had my eyes opened and my mind set at rest about a conflict that has been going on over a period of years in my mind. And I thank the committee for that opportunity.

MR. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask this very helpful witness just a few questions.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

MR. DOYLE. Mrs. Hartle, I think all of the members of this committee are lawyers, except Mr. Jackson, and that is what makes it such a "pretty good committee," as we lawyers say.

But I have not forgotten that almost your very first words to this committee referred to your divorce, and you said, "I never found out why the divorce was necessary." I think that was the exact language, as I recall it. Now what are we to understand by that? Did you receive directions from the Communist Party to get a divorce even though you had no grounds for it? Is that what we are to understand?

MRS. HARTLE. No, I don't think that would be true. It wouldn't be true to say that I had no plans for a divorce, because I did have plans. I think what that means is that when I was brought as a full-time worker for the Communist Party to Seattle, the officers of the Communist Party knew that I was separated from my husband and probably thought that I was planning divorce—and I was planning divorce. I think the reason the district officers prevailed upon me to go right ahead and secure my divorce was to make certain that I wouldn't change my mind and that they wouldn't lose a full-time district functionary that they wanted. That is what I think can be understood from that.

MR. DOYLE. In other words, if you were divorced and had no family ties, you logically could give more time to the Communist Party than if you had a husband or any other family requiring any of your attention?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes. There was always the danger of a reconciliation and of going back to Spokane and wanting to live a family life. That is what I believe was behind that—telling me that I had to have a



divorce in order to run for office. I had never known that that was necessary in the past.

Mr. DOYLE. Now you have talked about your own experiences in having been mentally enslaved and have named about 300 people to your personal knowledge who were members of the Communist Party during the time that you were in it, and you fixed a peak load or membership of between 4,000 and 5,000 people in the Communist Party back in 1939, to your personal knowledge. In making allowance for the fact, as you say, that the membership strength has waned since that time, why is it that more members of the Communist Party of the Seattle area have not come forward and testified as you have? Why is it that so few of them come forward if they have a sense of being mentally enslaved or if they have had an awakening? Why have so few of them come forward and volunteered to help their Government?

Mrs. HARTLE. I believe the main reason that people don't come forward and help our Government is that they are still confused in their minds, thinking that to do so has something to do with the freedoms under our Constitution; and, as I see it, it does have something to do with the freedoms under our Constitution, but in exactly the opposite way from what these people think it does. I think that my testifying here helps to guarantee those freedoms under our Constitution and our Bill of Rights and our Government. If this Government were to be taken over by communism, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution would be thrown out the window. And I think they miss the point; I think that is the point that they miss. They are mentally enslaved to the point of thinking that they are doing something—they are doing a little something for democracy by refusing to testify. This is the degree of mental enslavement that the Communist movement has over persons, and it is a serious thing, but once it is seen it is quite a simple thing—it looks quite simple once it is seen by a person.

Mr. DOYLE. Now I understood you to say that the policy of the Communist Party was to get to the top in the lumber industry in the Northwest, controlling it, with Communist Party activities. Why in the lumber industry? What relationship, if any, does the lumber industry have to involve it with the conspiracy of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party, especially since the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945, has said that if it is going to be a party of the working class and it is going to lead the working class to the assumption of power and to maintaining that power in order to build socialism that it must have strong influence among the workers and that the most important workers are the basic industrial workers; and the main industry of the State of Washington, having been lumber, lumber was high on that list. Other important industries, considered important by the Communist Party as basic industries were marine and aircraft, and there were other concentrations in certain areas on railroad or on a steel mill or some other basic industry.

The Communist Party does not say that it is interested in these basic industries in order to be able to strike and foul up the economy in case of war or any of those things. It puts its position forward in this way—that the Communist Party has to have the basic industrial workers, because they are important. It does say, though, that in all struggles and in influencing the rest of the labor movement the workers in the basic industries are the most important, they being of the most



influence, and a strike in a basic industry has a great deal more effect on the whole labor movement than if you were able to organize a strike in a small service industry.

Mr. DOYLE. I noticed that you said a minute ago, "I agreed to be the last out of jail on bail." Then you stated why. With whom did you agree to be the last out on bail after your conviction in the Smith Act trial?

Mrs. HARTLE. After the conviction, Henry Huff proposed the order of release and proposed me last on that list, and I agreed to that for the reasons that I gave. His reasons I know for having me the last on the list was that I had broken the discipline of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Under Public Law 601, Mrs. Hartle, under which this committee is authorized to function, and which was passed in the 79th Congress, we are also charged with the commission of investigating subversive activities and propaganda in the United States as coming from foreign countries or originating in our country. We are also charged with the responsibility of making recommendations to the United States Congress in the field of legislation to better meet the problem of subversive activities in this country. Therefore, may I ask you, have you any suggestions to this committee in the field of additional legislation or different legislation, assuming that you are familiar with the legislation which exists now on the statute books—is there any suggestion that you have to this committee in that field?

Mrs. HARTLE. I am not familiar with all of the legislation or with proposals for legislation, etc., but I do have a general suggestion, which is that any legislation which will expose Communist personnel activity and organizations—labeling them or identifying them would seem to me to be important, because if Communist activity is labeled or identified, and publications are identified to the people that they are sent to and addressed to, it will help them a great deal in making up their minds as to whether they want to be associated with it or not. And if a paper like the People's World, Northwest Edition, were known to all the people that it was sent to as being a Communist paper, then at least in all decency and fairness they could choose whether they wanted to have a Communist paper or not. I think it is a part of our democracy that the people should know and not be fooled as to what they are dealing with and choosing about.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not sure of the extent to which our distinguished counsel has had you go into the subject of this next question. I didn't hear all of the testimony, as I was out of the room during some of the time—but I am perhaps more interested in the extent to which the Communist Party in America advocates the judgment necessary to the use of force and violence, if that is the ultimate need in their judgment. What is your opinion on that subject? As I read Marxism-Leninism, and if I understand the result of the Duclos letter, to which you referred, back in April 1945, the ultimate position of the Communist Party in the United States is that if the capitalists resist the taking over of control within the United States of America, ultimately, then the Communist Party is justified in overcoming the resistance of the capitalist class, referring to the American system of free competitive enterprise, by the use of force. Am I in error, substantially, on that? If I am, I want to be corrected.

Mrs. HARTLE. No, there is no error in that. The Communist Party uses a lot of—quite a long chain of reasoning in this country about that question.

First I should say that the Communist Party of this country, like those of other countries, base themselves fully on the works of Marxism-Leninism. They study them, circulate them and say they are Marxist-Leninists. In the basic works of Marxism-Leninism, it is clearly stated that the aim of the Communist movement is to seize power and keep it, and in many, many places in these books there is very little argumentation about whether it is right to do so or the tactics about it. The bitter facts are there—that that is the aim and that should be done, that the workers have to expect to use arms.

In the Communist Party in the United States, the position has been taken that it does not advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, and this has revolved especially around the Smith Act indictments where that position has been taken so strongly. And the chain of reasoning, if you can call it a chain of reasoning, is that it is the reactionaries that use the force and if the democratic majority of the people want to have their way they will have to fight this reactionary minority and they are morally justified in doing so from the standpoint of democracy, etc., etc. And the actual facts of the matter are, though, that the Communist Party leadership have, all of them, studied these basic works of Marxism-Leninism and have a perfectly clear mutual understanding that if and when circumstances do permit that the Communist Party could gain enough support from workers and other sections of people would lead a movement for taking of power.

Mr. DOYLE. The taking of power by force and violence?

Mrs. HARTLE. Taking it by that means, if there is resistance, and taking it without that means, if possible—with the definite understanding of all of the Communist Party leaders that I have ever talked with that there will be resistance. They say they will use force and violence of there is resistance, but it is already decided in the Communist Party that there will be resistance. It is something like the peace and war questions, of aggressive war.

Mr. DOYLE. Then if I understand the import of your answer to that question it is that in the defense and prosecution under the Smith Act of the Smith Act defendants, including the trial in which you were engaged—their claim that they did not advocate the use of force to resistance was phony, it was not a true and correct statement of the position of the American Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. As long as the American Communist Party maintains that it is a Marxist-Leninist party and bases itself on Marxism-Leninism, then there is to me a contradiction between that and the Smith Act trial assertions in which the statement was made that the Communist Party does not advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. And I am not able, with all of my experience in the Communist Party, to resolve that contradiction.

Mr. DOYLE. Your testimony places emphasis upon youth work, the young people's work in the Communist Party, the work for children, the work for American youth. At any rate, I want to ask you if you will take a minute or two and tell us a little bit more about to what extent does the American Communist Party place emphasis upon obtaining education of as many American youth as possible?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party always places much emphasis on its theory and on its program on youth work. It recognizes that

the younger generation can furnish vital forces, can furnish forces that can be developed into able and very tested Communist leaders and has always considered this important.

The success of the Communist Party among youth was the greatest in the latter 1930's. In this district, the success of youth work has been very small; since I have come to Seattle, from 1942 to 1950, it has been very unsuccessful.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have any explanation of that fact? Why was that the case?

Mrs. HARTLE. It seemed to me sometimes that the Communist Party, although it had the importance of youth work in its program, it didn't devote too much effort to it; but when I was assigned as youth director I found that there was a more fundamental reason for it as well, and that is that the possibilities of doing work among youth along Communist Party lines were very much smaller than they had been in the 1930's. It appeared to me that the schools, the colleges and the youth organizations had been alerted and better informed about the Communist Party and its activities and were much harder to draw into these activities.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the policy of the Communist Party, if any policy they have, with reference to instructing its members to infiltrate deliberately into the major political parties of our country? Have they had any programs to try to do that?

Mrs. HARTLE. The program of the Communist Party—its front work is what it is called, its election work or its legislative work has always been to make the widest possible inroads where inroads could be made. It was not addressed to any particular political party; there had been the ups and downs of separate Farmer-Labor Party approaches and a third party approach, and then there had been times of working with both the Democratic and Republican Parties, supporting candidates who spoke out in one way or another on these programs that the Communist Party was interested in.

I think that the biggest work in this district, the greatest success in this district of the Communist Party in penetrating a major political organization was the Democratic Party.

Mr. DOYLE. While you have been out of the active work of the Communist Party now for a bit, I assume that you still have some opinion, even though it may not be based on your actual personal knowledge at this time but is based upon your past experience down to the date when you left the party, to the date when you went to the FBI, as to whether or not the Communist Party is still an active force in the Seattle region. Is there any reason that has come to your attention or any opinion that you have that maybe they have stopped being active in the Seattle area?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; I don't have the slightest opinion that the Communist Party has stopped being active in the Seattle area. Knowing the Communist Party as I do and the persons in it as I do, I would say that a latter-day miracle would have to take place to stop that activity completely as of this date.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you think that the underground, the hard core of which you were a member, in the Communist Party is just as numerous and just as active today as it was when you were in it?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; I don't think that it is as numerous. I think the ones that are left are probably just as active and possibly more so.



Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that that is all I have, and I desire to thank Mrs. Hartle very much.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. Mrs. Hartle, from time to time it falls to the lot of the chairman or the acting chairman of a committee or a subcommittee to express the appreciation of the Congress of the United States and of the American people to a witness. I think that what I have to say, very briefly, this morning constitutes not only the expression of the full Committee on Un-American Activities and my distinguished colleague, Mr. Doyle, but the opinion of many hundreds of thousands of people whom you have never seen and will probably never meet.

This hearing, insofar as your participation in it is concerned, has been a unique one. I was checking with the other members of the committee as to whether or not in their memory we have ever had the same situation in respect to a witness appearing before a committee—a witness in jail, actually accompanied to and from the hearing room under guard, and I find that to the best of the recollection of the other members of the committee that situation has never obtained heretofore.

You have been sentenced to prison for an offense against the laws of the United States; and when Mr. Doyle and I came up here some weeks ago to take your preliminary testimony, I must say that we were somewhat confused and I, for my part, had had the feeling before I had met you that this perhaps was an effort to obtain some measure of leniency. The Communists have stated in their throw-away sheets that the only reason you did cooperate was because you hoped that your penalty would be somehow lessened. This committee, obviously, as a committee of Congress, has no authority to do anything about that sentence as imposed. But I do want it on the record, and I am sure that Mr. Doyle will agree with me, that during the course of that preliminary hearing there was no suggestion on your part having to do with the mitigation of your sentence.

I understand from members of the staff that the subject has never been a subject of discussion and that to the contrary you have said on many occasions that you are willing to take the medicine that has been meted out to you.

Going to jail is probably not a pleasant thing under any circumstances, but I can say, and I think that everyone will agree, that probably no one ever went to jail in Seattle with more well wishes throughout the area.

While, as I say, the committee has no jurisdiction over that sentence, each one of us, individually—and again I am sure that I speak for the entire House of Representatives—join with those hundreds of thousands of other well-wishers in wishing you the very best of luck and Godspeed. Yours has been on ordeal before, during, and since the trial—here on the stand—which has been marked by strong personal determination and by quite obvious courage. I might say that it is far easier to take the stand for 15 minutes and rant and rave and take the fifth amendment than it is to make a clean break and tell the whole truth to the committee. But while undergoing the scorn and the vilification which has been heaped upon you by the Communist Party and by fellow travelers, and which will be heaped upon you in the future, you have, as I said, won the admiration and respect of your fellow Washingtonians and beyond the borders of this State. Your testimony, as counsel has indicated, will be published; it will be read



by hundreds of thousands of American citizens. Your disclosures as to the objectives and the scope of the activities of the Communist Party in the Seattle area are characteristic of the pattern as the committee has found it elsewhere throughout the country, but through your testimony you have been able to make communism a real and living thing to thousands upon thousands of citizens to whom it was formerly something nebulous and difficult to understand.

The committee feels that you have made a great and significant contribution to the continuing fight for human freedom. I might say in that connection that the mail coming to the committee, in almost every instance, mentions the fact of your testimony. I have just read a letter here this morning from a 15-year old school girl who had been watching the hearings all week. Her concluding words were "God bless Mrs. Hartle."

With the cordial thanks of the committee and the Congress of the American people, you are excused from further attendance under the subpoena. [Great applause.]

While the committee cannot in any way change the nature of your sentence, we do wish one of the marshals would hand you the flowers at the end of the table as a small token of our thanks.

(The witness was excused and the committee proceeded to hear testimony of other witnesses which is printed in pt. 8 of this series. Later additional testimony of Barbara Hartle was heard.)

#### FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MRS. BARBARA HARTLE

MR. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, are you familiar with the organization known as the Interracial Action Committee?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes, I am.

MR. TAVENNER. Would you explain to the committee, please, what part this organization played in the Communist Party orbit?

MRS. HARTLE. The Interracial Action Committee was formed in about 1945 at the instigation of the Communist Party, specifically the Negro and National Groups Commission, of which I was then secretary. It was an organization that had both affiliate organizations and individual memberships. The individual memberships made it possible for Communist Party members and others to take part when they could not become a part of it through organizational affiliation. This was considered by the Communist Party as a type of organization that could activize more people and, incidentally, made it easier for the Communist Party to control it.

I was a member of the executive board of this organization as a representative of the Communist Party or Communist Political Association.

A New World article at that time carried a story listing the affiliated organizations and executive board members. The shipsalers' union was one of the affiliates.

The program of the Interracial Action Committee was to raise campaigns for Negro rights along Communist Party lines.

With myself as an open Communist on the executive board, the idea was that the activities of this committee would be closely identified with the Communist Party and thus gain new influences, contacts, and members, especially from among the Negro people.

Earl George, as chairman, and myself as secretary of the district Negro and National Groups Commission, called a meeting of this

commission to discuss Communist Party policies in the Interracial Action Committee. Present at this meeting were Dell Castle, Carl Brooks, Earl George, Clark Harper, P. J. Blakes, and myself. All members of the commission were known to me as leading Communists and all leaders in the Interracial Action Committee.

Present also was John Caughlan, also known to me as a Communist Party member and involved in the Interracial Action Committee.

Present also was a Dr. Kaufman, who was taking a leadership post in the Interracial Action Committee but who was a stranger to me. The fact of his presence there, plus the discussion in which he participated impressed me strongly that he was Communist Party-trained. He spoke of his experiences in forming a similar organization somewhere in the East, and he indicated that he did not wish to be labeled as a Communist here.

I felt certain that he had once been a member of the Communist Party but did not know of his membership in Seattle.

The Interracial Action Committee was a Communist originated and controlled organization throughout its duration—about 1½ to 2 years. Most of its officers were Communists and many Communist Party members were members of the committee. Its policies and activities were approved by the district leadership of the Communist Party and were specifically led by myself as a leading Communist charged with responsibility in this field.

MR. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, in the course of your testimony, I believe you have referred to the term "revisionism." Will you explain to the committee exactly what you mean by that term?

MRS. HARTLE. Revisionism is an important subject in the basic works of Marxism-Leninism. Of the four great theoretical leaders of Marxism-Leninism, it was Lenin and Stalin who wrote about revisionism. Lenin excoriated the Second Socialist International for revisionism and heaped fire on the head of Karl Kautsky and Bernstein; he accused them of revising Karl Marx, of taking the revolutionary heart out of Marxism. He said that the doddering old women of the Second International were misleading the working class into thinking that capitalism could peacefully grow over into socialism.

Lenin added to Karl Marx's Political Economy the analysis that capitalism had entered a new stage—its highest and moribund stage—"imperialism."

One of the basic works of Marxism-Leninism, *Imperialism*, by Lenin, contains this contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. According to Lenin's analysis, the peaceful period of the development of capitalism had come to an end at the beginning of the 20th century. The old Socialist International was not prepared to deal with this new period—the era of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. Lenin founded the party of the new type, the type of party that would and could cope with the new stage of capitalism—a revolutionary party, not a reformist party.

This new type of party, according to Marxism-Leninism, must be so trained and organized as to be able to lead the working class and its allies to the seizure of power, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and through maintaining that power to build socialism and later communism, the next stage after socialism.

According to Lenin, it is revisionism to teach the working class that it can come into power peaceably, through parliamentary means.

Lenin says many, many times that the capitalist class will resist with force and the party of the new type must teach the working class to meet this resistance also with force, with armed struggle.

To teach the working class otherwise is betrayal of the working class and the goal of socialism.

I have taught from and recommended for study many basic works of Marxism-Leninism that contain these ideas: The Selected Works of V. I. Lenin; the Collected Works of V. I. Lenin; the Communist Manifesto by Marx, which is the foundation for the class-struggle concept; Foundations of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin; The Teachings of Karl Marx, by V. I. Lenin; Leninism, by Stalin; and others.

In my first 3 or 4 years in the Communist Party I read similar ideas expressed in works by Communist leaders of the United States of America: Towards a Soviet America, by William Z. Foster; Why Communism? by Olgin; A Manual on Organization, by Peters; Misleaders of Labor, by William Z. Foster; proceedings and resolutions of the C. P. U. S. A. conferences and conventions held in past periods.

I used Peters' manual and a chart that went with it in party structure in a class that I taught in Spokane, the first Communist Party class that I can recall teaching in the middle 1930's.

Although I had studied a lot about revisionism, I did not recognize it when it cropped up in the C. P. U. S. A. I felt no uneasiness about accepting the Browder revisionism and cannot recall being at all impressed with any revolutionary doubts that were from time to time expressed to me by individual Communist Party members. I considered them leftist and found no difficulty in marshaling arguments to bolster the revisionist position.

The Duclos article hit me like a thunderbolt; because of my study of Marxism-Leninism, I realized to a fair extent the seriousness of the charge of revisionism. I was completely disoriented and did not, of myself, arrive at a solid position toward it. The orientation came from Henry Huff, district chairman, and from party national headquarters.

Trained in idolization of Communist Party leadership, I first wrote an article in support of Browder, which I tore up before submitting it to anyone. Under district leadership, with hints and suggestions coming as to which side was right and how the forces were lining up, I wrote another article on the Foster side, which was printed in the Daily Worker.

Once oriented, I got into the full swing of the reconstitution. This reconstitution revived my interest and enthusiasm for the Communist Party to a considerable extent, especially as long as the battle against revisionism remained for the most part an interparty campaign.

The revisionism of Browder was essentially a class collaboration instead of a class-struggle policy, according to the Communist Party. Browder had spun dreams of a peaceful world, with progress coming in a peaceful way, with capitalism willing to make concessions in this new world situation.

In the Communist Political Association, the point was often made that the reason for this situation was the victory of Soviet Russia in World War II and the defeat of fascism.

Now the whole world was in a position to make great progress in a peaceful manner, according to Browder. The Communist Party lambasted these illusions on capitalism and capitalists of Browder and



set itself on the path of struggle again, this time against the world imperialist forces led by the United States of America imperialist government.

Revisionism, its ideas and discoverable followers, were thrown out of the party after Browder, in an energetic and high-handed manner, in a reconstitution campaign that continued after the formal reconstitution in 1945, up to the time that I fully quit the Communist Party on March 12, 1954.

One of Henry Huff's analyses of myself for breaking party discipline was that I had not fully cast off Browderism. Despite his attempt to thus channel me into a somewhat neutral position, my own analysis was that I was casting off not only Marxism-Leninism but revisionism, along with it at the same time, in favor of democracy and freedom, in favor of support of the Government of our country.

I cast off the paradise of socialism as an enticing bait that had been dangled before people's eyes for a variety of reasons in the last couple hundred years and which the Marxist-Leninist leaders seized upon as a reason for achieving the power of government, knowing that the appeal of a heaven on earth could amass a large and strong set of followers.

The international Communist leaders, in addition, strongly emphasized the term "scientific socialism," which is another shrewd theoretical move to win followers in a historical period of great scientific advancement.

Lenin himself revised the many dreams of socialism that grew out of Karl Marx's theories and explained that when the Communist Party comes to power the really big difficulties will only start; that immediately to expect a heaven on earth is not realistic and, moreover, that there is no such thing as pure socialism.

The fight of the Communist movement against revisionism can only be objectively explained as a fight against democratic processes, as a fight against elements that would disperse forces from Communist dictatorial power.

If Earl Browder's theories had had their way in the Communist Party of this country, the undeviating support of the United States Communist Party to the world Communist movement, headed by Soviet Russia, would have been threatened.

Titoism is a prime example of just such a development. Titoism is revisionism. Since Tito and the Communist Party that he headed held power, and their doings had a much greater impact on world communism than a party not in power could have, the Communist movement portrayed Titoism as outright betrayers to imperialism.

MR. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, you mentioned Tito revisionism and also Browder revisionism and that Browder advocated a policy of coexistence between capitalism and communism. Now do you believe that Browder's revisionism is true revisionism? I mean wasn't Browder taking an opportunity in the situation when the Soviet Union needed the United States as an ally in the last war? Therefore, his revision was in accord with the views and objectives of the Soviet Union, were they not, whereas Tito's revisionism is certainly not in accord with the Soviet Union?

MRS. HARTLE. I think it is true to say that Browder's revisionism fit in very well with the aims of Soviet Russia, inasmuch as the United States of America was an ally in World War II.

Mr. TAVENNER. Browder's revisionism was accepted then, whereas Tito's revisionism was not accepted. Is that a correct statement?

Mrs. HARTLE. Browder's revisionism was accepted as long as it was of value to Soviet Russia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, in the early days of your membership in the Communist Party, did you have an opportunity to observe closely the relationship between the Communist Party and unemployed councils?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I did. When I first joined the Communist Party in 1933, the Communist Party was very active in organizing and building the Unemployed Councils. Organization was being built in the neighborhoods, to have any Unemployed Council in each neighborhood. Almost all of the members of the Communist Party that I knew were members of the Unemployed Councils and were officers of these councils.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what location, generally, are you speaking now?

Mrs. HARTLE. Of Spokane.

The reports that I heard at meetings and the conversations that I had with Communist leaders in Spokane at that time made me aware that the Communist Party was the main driving force, in fact, the only driving force, behind having the Unemployed Councils organized.

I heard of many cases where an individual Communist member felt that he needed more relief or wanted more relief and where the councils would take up his individual case, send a committee to the welfare officials and attempt to secure and often did secure special relief for that person.

It was standard practice for a Communist Party member to depend on the Communist Party and the Unemployed Councils to take action for him as an individual in order to gain special relief measures.

It was also a fact that the Unemployed Councils which were led by the Communists, would organize similar committees to gain relief for other persons or groups of persons, and it was standard practice to recruit into the Communist Party, on the basis of this help, members.

I remember persons reporting that they had recruited Communist Party members right in the building of the welfare offices, either while waiting to take up the cases or immediately after they had been taken up.

The recruiting of the Communist Party and the unemployed activities were very closely associated. Most of the recruiting of the Communist Party at that time took place around these unemployed activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort made by the Communist Party to obtain as members welfare workers who had the responsibility of decisions in relief matters?

Mrs. HARTLE. In the later period, especially during the time that the Workers' Alliance was the relief organization that the Communist Party worked in, the program was broadened somewhat to try to recruit or have influence with persons in the welfare setup. Especially it was considered desirable to have as a member or as a person friendly to the Communist Party a person who was a visitor, a welfare visitor.

The Communist Party used to evaluate the visitors—which were good ones and which were bad ones.

Mr. TAVENNER. And do you know of any instances in which applicants for relief were denied relief and who were granted relief after becoming members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. No; I can't recall any such instances. However, it is correct to say that persons whose cases were taken up by the Communist Party often received relief which they had not received before, and in that way I think it would be true.

The Communist analysis of that was that organized effort would get results that persons were not able to obtain without organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now what you have said relates particularly to the Unemployed Councils; is that correct?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the situation virtually the same with regard to the Workers' Alliance, which followed?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; the situation was virtually the same. The Communist Party in Spokane controlled the leadership and the policies of the Workers' Alliance after the merger took place of some unemployed organizations. There was at the very beginning some struggle for leadership, but this was very shortly won by the Communist Party, and the Workers' Alliance in Spokane was led and controlled by the Communist Party for the much greater part of its existence there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Harry Crumbaker, in the course of his testimony, said that he attended many fraction meetings within the Workers' Alliance, and I believe he indicated that you were present at some of those meetings. Can you give the committee any additional information regarding the fraction meetings to which he referred?

Mrs. HARTLE. There were often fraction meetings of the Communist Party, especially during the Workers' Alliance period. What would be done is that the Communist Party would call a meeting of all of its members in the Workers' Alliance and discuss the program and policies to be advanced in the Workers' Alliance, and this would include discussion of who should be elected to leadership of the Workers' Alliance.

I have attended some of those fraction meetings in my capacity as a leader of the Communist Party of Spokane.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee any information, in addition to that which you have heretofore given, regarding the activity of Mr. Harry Crumbaker in the Communist Party in Spokane?

Mrs. HARTLE. Harry Crumbaker was recruited into the Communist Party in Spokane in about the middle 1930's and was an active member of the Communist Party for a period of at least 2 years and probably more. He was once a member of the section committee of the Communist Party in Spokane.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give me the names of any other persons who were members of the section committee at the same time that Mr. Crumbaker was a member?

Mrs. HARTLE. Jim Haggin, Art Furnish, Caroline Haggin, J. H. Van Orman, Ruth Van Orman. They, I am sure, were members of the section committee at that time. Leonard Wildman and Harold Wildman were also members of the section committee in Spokane at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, from time to time, during the course of the hearings, reference has been made to various Communist Party schools and the training that members of the Communist Party re-



ceived. Will you tell the committee, please, what the aim and purpose of the Communist Party was in giving training to its members?

Mrs. HARTLE. The aim and purpose of this training of Communist Party members was to make Marxist-Leninists out of them, to give them such a thorough grounding that they would be able to understand the necessity for all Communist Party activities, methods, and policies.

There is somewhere in Marxist-Leninist theoretical works a passage, sentence, or even word that will analyze any conceivable question that a person can raise. The fact that many of these answers seem contradictory at first hearing is explained on the basis of dialectics, which shows that since the condition of each situation is different, the answer will also be different. It also shows that change is constant—so that an answer given at one time will be the opposite at another time. The member is enveloped in a philosophical smog as he studies and accepts Marxist-Leninist theory. In theory, as in activity, the member is so swamped by the Communist Party that other ideas and beliefs, just as other activities, are shoved into the background. He neglects and forgets his past; he is drawn into a whirlwind of activities and ideas that tax all of his physical and mental capacities; and if he does not successfully resist, he becomes a professional revolutionary.

Marxist-Leninist theory is considered indispensable by the Communist Party. Stalin's definition of the relation between theory and practice is: "Theory without practice is sterile. Practice without theory is blind."

Communist Party members learn to understand the importance and correctness of their activities as they begin to grasp Marxist-Leninist theory. Besides classes and meetings, a member must engage in intensive self-study if he ever hopes to begin to master Marxism-Leninism. Members are informed that it is immodest to expect to completely master it.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to the training in Communist Party schools, what training was given to the rank and file members of the Communist Party during the course of their membership?

Mrs. HARTLE. The Communist Party organized new member classes to which new members were invited and at which they received introductory instruction.

I remember a series of about 10 or 12 weekly classes held in Victory Hall, at Third and Marion Streets, in about 1940. One of the purposes of these classes was to integrate the new members faster into theory and activity than would be the case through branch meetings alone. Persons showing promise in these classes were reported back to their branches with the aim of having them more rapidly promoted in the Communist Party. The subject matter of these new member classes was quite light, showing the class division in the capitalist society and explaining how the Communist Party represents the interests of the working class. The current front program of the Communist Party was emphasized. A big feature of these classes, in comparison to more advanced classes, was to let the discussion run its course, to find out what questions were bothering the new members, and to give the Communist Party answers in as simple a form as possible.

I cannot recall the names of any of the students of this particular series of classes. Very few of the many recruits of that time attended, as the attendance was considered voluntary.

Another form of education of new members was the branch educational. An educational is considered a necessary part of each Communist Party branch agenda. These educationals are led usually by the branch organizer or branch educational director and are based on works of Marxism-Leninism and on the current writings of the Communist Party, such as Political Affairs.

MR. TAVENNER. You referred to the fact that the most promising students were reported back to their respective branches, so that their advancement in communism might be encouraged. Was this followed by any special leadership training on the part of such individuals?

MRS. HARTLE. Leadership training classes were regularly organized by the Communist Party as the next step in the education of a Communist Party member.

I remember a series of leadership training classes, about 14 weekly sessions, that I held in Spokane in 1941-42.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you describe those classes, please?

MRS. HARTLE. The purpose of these classes was to give introductory sessions in the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism, divided into such subjects as "political economy," the "basic theory of the Communist Party," "the state," "dialectical and historical materialism," "strategy and tactics," and others.

The material for teaching of these sessions was based on an outline furnished by the district educational department and on my own notes of a district full-time school which I attended in 1937. These outlines included the assignments for study from basic Marxist-Leninist works and from current material of the Communist Party. Some of the works I taught from were: History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—

MR. TAVENNER. That was considered a "must" in Communist Party education; was it not?

MRS. HARTLE. Yes; it was. It was considered the most single valuable piece of Marxist-Leninist literature after it was published for educational work.

MR. TAVENNER. Proceed, please.

MRS. HARTLE. Other works were: Political Economy by Leontiev; The Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx; Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels.

The result of these classes was the emergence of a new active leadership for the Spokane section. This was recognized by the district leadership and was the reason they gave me for bringing me into full-time work in the district.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of those who attended the courses conducted by you?

MRS. HARTLE. I recall some of the names: Harold Eddings, who became a member of the section committee of the Communist Party in Spokane; Genevieve Eddings, his wife, who became a branch officer; Maybelle Wheeler, who later became a section officer of the Spokane section; Vernon Riley, who became a branch officer; Earl Carpenter, who was a member of the section committee; Emma Carpenter, Earl Carpenter's wife, who was a branch officer; Grace Dahlke, who was a branch officer; Herman Schulz, who was a section committee mem-

ber and a leader in the Communist Party's work among railroad workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any other specific training that was given Communist Party members?

Mrs. HARTLE. I remember another leadership training class in late 1947 or early 1948. I taught a series of 14 weekly classes to further train south King regional leaders in Marxism-Leninism. My teaching there was directly based upon what I had learned at a 2-month national training school and included the subjects, Marxist-Leninist Political Economy, The Basic Theory of the Communist Party, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, The Struggle for Democracy, Peace Strategy and Tactics.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of any of the members of the Communist Party who attended these classes?

Mrs. HARTLE. Some of the names that I recall are Frank Kerr, Renton section organizer, a member of the Communist Party in the machinists' union; Caroline Canafax, who was section organizer of the Duwamish Bend section of the Communist Party; John Zobrist, organizational secretary of the South King region of the Communist Party and also once section organizer of the White Center section of the Communist Party; Paul Bowen, a member of the South King regional committee; Anita Miller, secretary of the Rainier Valley section of the Communist Party, who lived in the Holly Park housing project; Zella Apt, who was secretary of the Duwamish Bend section of the Communist Party and lived in the South Park area; Calvin Harris, a member of the District Youth Committee and who lived in the South Park area; Pearl Thrasher, South King press director, who lived in South Park.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other leadership training schools of a different character, which you conducted?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; there were. In late 1949 or early 1950, while I was district educational director, I taught in a 2-day class sponsored by the district Negro commission on Marxist-Leninist theory on the national and Negro question. Other teachers besides myself were Clayton Van Lydegraf, district organizational secretary, and Paul Bowen, organizer of the central region of King County and member of the district Negro commission. Regional officers and members of the district and regional Negro commissions were required to attend.

The purpose of these classes was to educate the top party leadership firmly in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the national and Negro question, so that the extensive Communist Party program on Negro work would be fulfilled. The texts for these classes were, The National Question, by Joseph Stalin, and Negro Liberation, by Haywood.

The class was held in the basement recreation room of the home of Ruth Bitterman in North Seattle. Some of the students in attendance were: Ted Dokter, officer of the Southwest Washington region of the Communist Party; Calvin Harris; Clark Harper; Irving Jones, a leader of the Communist Party in Vancouver, Washington; Stan Henrickson, organizer of the northwest Washington region of the Communist Party; Merrill Kimple, organizer of the South King region of the Communist Party; Ruth Bitterman, officer of the North King region of the Communist Party; Terry Pettus, editor of the People's World, Northwest edition, as his Communist Party assignment, and a member of the district Negro commission.



Mr. TAVENNER. What full-time training schools for Communist Party members were you connected with?

Mrs. HARTLE. In 1947 I taught a class in a 1-week full-time district training school of the Communist Party in the building of the Pacific Northwest Labor School on Second Avenue, North, near Denny Way. The subject that I taught was The Basic Theory of the Communist Party, and the purpose of the class I taught was specifically to route out revisionism of Marxism-Leninism, and on what the Communist Party is and what its roll should be in the class struggle and the seizure of power by the working class and in the establishment of socialism. The material for this class was based on an outline prepared by Ed Alexander, district educational director at that time and director of this school.

Some of the texts I taught from and that were studied by the students were: Short Course History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx, The Struggle against Revisionism, a series of articles by United States Communist Party national officers about the Communist Party reconstitution, and Marxism and Revisionism, which comprises selections from Lenin and Stalin.

Some of the students in this 1-day class that I taught were: Ruth Porter, a member of the central region of the Communist Party; Caroline Canafax, from the South King region of the Communist Party; Harold Sunoo, member of the North King region of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other district full-time training schools in which you participated as an instructor?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; there were. I taught political economy in two district training schools, two full-time 1-week schools for leadership training in 1945 and 1946. In the 1945 school I taught political economy according to the Communist Political Association program and found it necessary to do a great deal of improvising to make the Marxist-Leninist analysis of political economy fit in with the non-class-struggle program and perspective of the CPA. I had already learned that Marxism-Leninism is not a static science, that it grows and develops. I believed that a new stage in history had been achieved at the end of World War II and that the science of Marxism-Leninism had to take this into account. It was thus that I explained the clearly apparent contradictions between Marxist-Leninist political economy as we had known it and the new analysis that would have to be added.

In the 1946 school, after the reconstitution of the Communist Party, I covered the ground again, this time explaining how the old Marxism-Leninism was right all along and that the difficulty had been that the Communist Party of this country had gotten off the track of Marxism-Leninism and had fallen into revisionism.

Some of the texts used in the 1946 district training school were: The Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx; Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels; The Teachings of Karl Marx, by V. I. Lenin; Kapital, volume I, by Karl Marx; Short Course History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Imperialism, by V. I. Lenin; Value, Price, and Profit, by Marx; Wage, Labor, and Capital, by Marx.

At this second school, for the first time that I knew of, some of the mass leaders of the Communist Party, the top mass leaders, attended a district school.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was in 1946, after the reconstitution of the Communist Party, was it not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. These persons were not usually drawn into such theoretical study in schools.

I remember Tom Rabbitt, William J. Pennock, and Terry Pettus.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember those persons as having attended this particular school?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I remember those persons as having attended this school that I taught in 1946.

The other students were mainly composed of section organizers and sections secretaries, Communist Party members in important trade-union work or in youth and Negro work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, you mentioned the fact that you attended a 2-month national training school in preparation for your work in the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee, please, when you attended the national training school, the circumstances under which you were selected for that work, and give the committee the benefit of all the knowledge that you have regarding its operation?

Mrs. HARTLE. In the spring of 1946 I was selected by the district leadership as the district student to a full-time 2-month national training school for theoreticians and propagandists. The aim of sending me was to prepare me for the post of district educational director.

The school was held at Camp Beacon, which is a recreational camp on the Hudson, not far from New York City. The director of the school, Jacob Mindel, in beginning the school explained that the students at the school were not beginners in the study of Marxism-Leninism but were persons who were to be trained as theoreticians and propagandists who would be able to lead the theoretical struggle to rout out all the last remnants of Browder revisionism in the Communist Party. The instructors of the school were top national people of the Communist Party: Jacob Mindel, Mary Himoff, Max Weiss, Steve Nelson, Henry Winston, Walter Neff, William Z. Foster, and I am sure that a man named Clark taught on the veteran question.

The subject matter of the school was divided into such topics as: Marxist-Leninist Political Economy, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, The Basic Theory of the Communist Party, The Struggle for Democracy, Peace, The National and Negro Question, Strategy and Tactics, The Roll of Marxist-Leninist Educational Work, The State, The U. S. S. R.

The students in attendance at the school were selected by districts from all parts of the United States. Some were district leaders; some were important persons in Communist press work; and some were persons in trade union and other mass work for the Communist Party.

Some of the students that I recall in this school were: Mark Haller, Caroline Drew, Charles Nusser, and a man named Al from Chicago—I think his last name was George. There was a trade-union leader from Chicago, whose name I cannot recall. He was a big man, quite forceful and had constant trouble in assimilating the ideas. He was constantly wrangling with Mindel. There was a Negro woman named Hazel, from Chicago, a young woman, and there was a man named Andy, I believe from New Jersey. Andy was the first name. Then there was Howard Johnson from New York, Tony Martin from New York, from Brooklyn; Bernard Burton—I later saw articles in the Daily Worker under the byline of Bernard Burton. There was a

woman named Steinberg from Philadelphia or Pittsburgh, but I am quite sure she was from Philadelphia; a Dorothy Chase from New York, who is the wife of Homer Chase who was organizer in Florida or Georgia. She had been in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. There was Steve Murdock, a writer for the People's World—I believe in Los Angeles. There was a young white man from Chicago. There was Bob Hamilton, who was to become organizer in Indiana, and Mrs. Bob Hamilton, his wife. There was a man connected with the Communist Party work among the auto workers in Detroit, whose name I cannot remember. He was a long-time member of the Communist Party, was said to have gone to the Lenin school in the 1930's. I remember it as being probably a Finnish name.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is true, is it not, Mrs. Hartle, that the primary objective of the Communist Party is to secure power through increasing its membership?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not also true that many of the activities of the Communist Party were designed to bring into the party any persons who were difficult to reach by activities in what you have previously referred to as front organizations?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is true then that the educational features which you have discussed were highly important, not only for training persons who had become members, but it was important also for the purpose of increasing membership. Would that not follow?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any educational features to the work of the Communist Party besides schooling and educational training in the restricted sense of that term, which would have the combined purpose and objective of educating its members and at the same time inducing others to become members?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. There was a special type of meeting organized by the Communist Party, which had educational value, both for members and non-Communists who could be brought to attend.

The holding of Lenin memorial meetings in January or February of each year, commemorating the death of V. I. Lenin on January 21, 1924, was a regular practice in the Communist Party throughout my membership until I left Seattle in 1950. The purpose of these meetings was to emphasize the great theoretical and practical contribution that Lenin made to the world proletarian revolutionary movement. He is especially honored by the Communist Party as being the first individual in history under whose leadership a successful proletarian revolution was accomplished and the establishment of a socialism in a country achieved.

The socialist goal of the Communist Party for the United States of America was usually brought out at these meetings. Since this Socialist goal was often lost sight of and neglected in the course of year-round work, these meetings had the effect of reviving the revolutionary perspective of the older members and were considered valuable instruction in international working-class solidarity for newer members.

Although these Lenin memorial meetings were open to the public, tickets were sold, the main attention was to bringing the membership to the meeting.



It was realized that these meetings did not have the broad type of appeal to bring in many non-Communists. Sometimes the bringing of close contacts was organized with the aim of recruiting them, either right in the meeting, through the appeal of national speakers, or right after the meeting as a result of its stimulus. The current program of the Communist Party was also put forth at these meetings.

Main attention at these meetings was the pushing of basic Marxist-Leninist literature and especially the works of V. I. Lenin.

A similar type of meeting were those sponsored by the Communist Party to celebrate the October revolution sometime near its date, November the 7th. These meetings had about the same purpose and character and result as the Lenin memorial meetings.

In the early years of my membership in Spokane, the early and middle 1930's, meetings of a similar character were organized by the Communist Party to celebrate the Paris Commune, which, according to Marxism-Leninism, was the first effort of the proletariat to take power. Lessons were drawn in these meetings from the failure of the French proletariat and instruction given as to the mistakes made, and the assurance that the Communist Party would give the working class the kind of theory and leadership to assure victory.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the testimony, we have heard of numerous street meetings which were addressed by members of the Communist Party. Will you describe the principal objectives of such meetings?

Mrs. HARTLE. Street meetings on or near the "skid row" were a regular practice by the Communist Party in the early and middle 1930's when I was a Communist Party member in Spokane. Many of them were held at that time. The main subject of discussion was the depression, interwoven with pro-Soviet propaganda. The situation in China was much under discussion at that time and the Scottsboro case was regularly talked about. The purpose of these meetings was to spread Communist influence among the unemployed, win recruits to the party, sell party literature and press, and raise funds.

The Communist Party campaign against fascism and war was also an important subject.

At that time the street meetings were one of the main activities of the Communist Party, and a high proportion of its recruits and funds came from it. Some of the speakers at these street meetings were J. H. Van Orman, then section organizer of the Spokane Communist Party; and Jim Haggin, Communist Party leader in the unemployed work of the Communist Party.

In order to learn how to be a Communist spokesman, I was assigned to speak at some of these meetings in 1937-38 and received my first practice in speaking in this way.

Communist street meetings were almost abandoned in about 1938 or 1939 and were not resumed until after the reconstitution of the Communist Party. Morris Rappaport explained that "skid row" street meetings were not productive of the necessary results and that work in labor and other organizations was the important work for the Communist Party.

Street meetings in Seattle were resumed in about 1948 by the waterfront section of the Communist Party at Occidental and Main Streets. Main speakers were James K. Bourne, Margaret Backlund, Ralph Hall, and myself.

In about 1949 the South King region, of which I was organizer, held weekly street meetings for several months. At these meetings I was the main speaker, and others were Merrill Kimple, Caroline Canafax, Leo Canafax.

Speakers from other organizations were often included on the program. Some of these were Terry Pettus, of the People's World; William J. Pennock, of the Washington Pension Union; and as a leader in the maritime unions I remember Jerry Tyler. Almost all, if not all, of these invited non-Communist speakers were members of the Communist Party and known to me as such.

Resumption of street meetings was viewed as a part of the casting off of Browder revisionism, of taking the party's program to the workers and of speaking openly in the name of the party. The program and line of the street meetings received very little direction from the district leadership. The main aim of these meetings was to raise funds through the collections taken and to sell off or distribute a part of the Communist Party literature quota.

Relatively few recruits were taken into the party as a result of these meetings, as compared with the depression period. The response to the meetings was also relatively small.

National headquarters of the Communist Party encouraged holding street meetings in neighborhoods, in working-class and Negro districts. The south King region, under my leadership, had attempted to carry this through at 21st and Jefferson and at 11th and Jackson in Seattle. The complete lack of response discouraged the effort.

The main purpose of all of these street meetings was to put forth the Communist Party line and covered a wide variety of subjects. The Communist peace campaign received much attention.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, Mrs. Hartle, investigations conducted by the committee have indicated an extreme interest on the part of the Communist Party in the American Federation of Teachers. This was true at Harvard University; it was true on the west coast, as shown by testimony taken at Los Angeles. Now will you tell the committee, please, to what extent emphasis was put upon infiltration into the American Federation of Teachers in this area, if any?

MRS. HARTLE. I do know that there was some infiltration of the American Federation of Teachers in this area. I remember discussions at district plenums in the latter 1930's, in which work in the Teachers Union impressed me as being considered just as important as work in unions of basic industry. I received the impression then that the Communist Party did have a number of members in the Teachers Union and this impression was further deepened by reporting of activities and resolutions of the Teachers Union in the Communist press, such as the Washington New Dealer.

In the later period, in the latter 1940's, I held discussions with Mrs. Josephine Hughes about this work. She pointed out to me that her work in the Teachers Union and in organizing some members of the Communist Party that she knew in the Teachers Union might be more important than being an officer of a branch or section in the south King region of the Communist Party. The result of the discussion was that I fully confirmed her belief that work in the AFT was important and encouraged her to organize that work but at the same time also to try to carry out her assignment as an officer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What effort was made, if any, to infiltrate the Parent-Teachers' Association?

Mrs. HARTLE. The extent of Communist Party membership and activity in the Parent-Teachers' Association has been extremely small. The desirability of such influence has always been recognized by the Communist Party. The district women's commission several times discussed the necessity of assigning women Communists to this work but no large campaign was ever carried through.

Communist women whom I have known to be members of the PTA are: Helen Nelson, Fern Kerr, Irene Hull, Thorun Robel. Communist women in PTA were assigned to carry through the party line on such questions as civil liberties, academic freedom, greater appropriations for anything connected with the educational field, Communist peace campaigns, and Negro-equality questions. The usual Communist-front method was employed to take some issue already of interest to the members of the organization and then to tack on in as feasible manner as possible some other meaning or issue which brings it closer to Communist policy. For example, the Communists, in supporting the day-nursery program, would, as Communists, deepen the understanding of the women as to the fact that it is women workers mainly who need these nurseries in operation. Thus class division and conflict is brought into the picture.

Communists in PTA, as Communists everywhere else, should find contacts for the party and attempt to recruit them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mrs. Hartle, to what extent was the Communist Party in this area interested in the work of the Progressive Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. To a very considerable extent. After the reconstitution, the Communist Party recognized its revisionism of Marxism-Leninism in the political field and decided that the correct program was for a new third, anti-imperialist party. After this ideological campaign had proceeded for at least a year, the Progressive Party was founded, preceded for a period by the Progressive Citizens of America. The Communist Party viewed this as a development along favorable lines and in this district threw considerable effort into the support and building of it and was able to furnish the top leadership as well in the State.

Hugh DeLacy, head of the Progressive Citizens of America, Jerry O'Connell and Tom Rabbitt, head of the Progressive Party—all three of whom were in executive positions—were members of the Communist Party, to the best of my understanding.

I have less knowledge of O'Connell's Communist Party membership than of DeLacy and Rabbitt, but have sat in Communist Party meetings with him when all present were Communists, and I understood him to be one also or at least so sympathetic as to make no actual difference.

Many Communist Party members were for the founding of the Progressive Party in this State and worked in it after its founding. They numbered in the hundreds. The policy of the Progressive Party in this State was controlled by the Communist Party; and if there were any problems at all along this line, they came from national demands or from demands of persons and groups working also in the Progressive Party and whom the Communist Party wanted to retain and influence.



Other Communist Party leaders also in leadership of the Progressive Party were William J. Pennock, Karley Larsen, Fair Taylor, Tom Rabbitt, Jerry O'Connell.

Communist Party members active in the Progressive Party were: Margaret Backlund, Pearl Thrasher, Frank Kerr, Ethel Roark, Ann Carlson, and Herman Schulz, Spokane; John Greenman, Tacoma; and Emma Harman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, the committee staff has procured from the secretary of state of the State of Washington a photostatic copy of the reports required to be made by law of the proceedings of the nominating convention for the year 1952. It is noted that the certificate is signed by Thomas C. Rabbitt, permanent secretary of the Progressive Party. You have heretofore identified him as a member of the Communist Party, have you not?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. The document referred to contains a certificate of attendance at the nominating convention of the Progressive Party, held on the 9th day of September 1952. Will you please examine the list and read into the record the names of those appearing thereon who are known to you to have been members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. John Boan, Thorun Robel, Thomas C. Rabbitt, Florence Bean James, Margaret M. Donaldson, Thomas Patrick, Harriet Pierce, Fair Taylor, Alexander John Walters, Marjorie H. Rabbitt, Katherine B. Plumb, John L. Neill, Caroline Newburger, Olga Kinneberg, Gunstan G. Rystad, Madeline L. Pattison, Cecil Dailey, John S. Daschbach, William J. Pennock.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you now count the number of those whose signatures appear on the list?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. Thirty-three.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have kept a record of the number of those identified by you as members of the Communist Party. Out of the total list of 33 names, you have identified 19.

The staff has likewise procured from the Secretary of State a certification from the Independent Party, made on the 12th day of September 1950. Do you recall any of the circumstances surrounding the placing of a ticket in the field by the so-called Independent Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes, I recall some of the circumstances. While I was in the underground of the Communist Party, I received a brief description of what this Independent Party was. I was told that it had been impossible to place candidates for the Communist Party on the election ballot and that steps were taken then to put Communist candidates on an Independent Party ticket and take this means of bringing the Communist program into the election campaign.

Mr. TAVENNER. The certificate that is filed in behalf of the Independent Party is over the signature of Marion Kinney, as secretary of the Independent Party nominating convention, and the signature of Terry Pettus, chairman of the Independent Party nominating convention.

Can you identify either or both of these individuals as persons known to you to have been members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Yes. They were both known to me as members of the Communist Party and both have been members of the district committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Attached to the certification is an affidavit of attendance of certain persons at the nominating convention, consisting of a list purportedly signed by the individuals whose names appear thereon. The list shows a total of 49 persons in attendance at the convention.

Will you examine the list, please, and read into the record the names of those whom you can identify from your own personal knowledge as having been members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. Those whom I have known as having been members of the Communist Party are: George Bailey, Harley G. Pickens, R. J. Gallagher, Paul M. Bowen, Mary Van Lydegraf, Naomi Ellison, Baba Jeanne Decker, Guy H. Rader, E. B. Carmichael, Helga O. Phillips, Fern E. Kerr, Clark Harper, E. G. Henrickson, John W. Watson, William G. Mutch, Grace A. Mutch, Joseph Butterworth, Margaret Jean Backlund, Ruth E. Bitterman, Rosella Bailey, Emma L. Carpenter, Carl E. Backlund, Burt Nelson, Keith Stephan Bradley, Helen L. Bradley, John S. Daschbach, Dortha Bowen, Cecil E. Dailey, Anita Dobbins, Marion Kinney, Will H. Parry, Herbert J. Phillips, Elmer A. Kistler, Edward G. Kroener, Terry Pettus, Berta S. Pettus.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the 49 persons appearing on the list, you have identified as persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party a total of 36.

Mrs. Hartle, I hand you a list of names of persons, most of whom you have identified as members of the Communist Party during the course of your testimony. Will you examine this list and if you see on it names of persons not heretofore identified by you, will you please advise the committee as to the Communist Party identity of the persons in question?

Mrs. HARTLE. Myrna Anderson, member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party in Seattle in the latter 1940's; Reba Baxter, members of the Communist Party of King County, whom I met at district functionaries' meetings in the latter 1930's; Whitey Baxter, whom I met in the latter 1930's at district functionaries' meetings; Ethel Beach, whom I have already identified as Ethel Kramer; Lil Bitney, member of the Communist Party in the west Seattle section and in the Rainier Valley section of the Communist Party of Seattle in the latter 1940's; Bea Boyer, member and officer of the Downtown Section of the Communist Party in the early 1940's; Hal Driggs, member in the North King County area of the Communist Party and expelled in the latter 1940's.

Al Bristol, organizer of the King County Communist Party in the latter 1930's, whom I have met at district functionaries' meetings; Harold Brockway, whom I met at district functionaries' meetings in the latter 1930's and whom I knew as a member of the 37th District Section of the Communist Party in the middle 1940's; John Brockway, whom I knew as organizer of the Bellingham Section of the Communist Party and met at district functionaries' meetings in the latter 1930's and whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in west Seattle in the middle 1940's; Lois Brockway Blakes, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the 37th district section in the latter 1940's; Leona Carpenter, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the north King region of the Communist Party in the latter 1940's; Mel Chamberlain, whom I knew as a mem-

ber of the Communist Party in Spokane in the latter 1930's; Marian Cole, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the north King region in the latter 1940's; George Collins, whom I knew as a member of the 37th District Section of the Communist Party and also as a member of the North King Region of the Communist Party; Gretchen Cook, whom I knew as an officer of the West Seattle Section of the Communist Party in the middle 1940's; Vivian Cross, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Auburn, Wash., a woman who was employed by Boeing Aircraft and either fired or laid off by them; Dorothy Loftly Cumming, a member of the Communist Party in the central region of King County in the latter 1940's; Harriet Dennett, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party and met at district functionaries' meetings in the latter 1930's, and whom I met at King County functionaries' meetings in the early and middle 1940's; Eugene Dennis, whom I knew as national general secretary of the Communist Party and have met with him at national conventions of the Communist Party; Lenna Eby, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the middle 1930's and met with at district functionaries' meetings, and whom I knew in the early and middle 1940's in King County and have worked with her in her assignment as district membership director.

Ernie Fox, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party, a leader in Communist Party trade-union work, and whom I met with in district functionaries' meetings in the middle 1930's; Jean Frankfeld, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County, as educational director of the King County Communist Party, a full-time assignment, in the early and middle 1940's; Joe Fugl, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County, as section organizer of a north King County section, in the early and middle 1940's; Phyl Gillette, with whom I have met at a national convention in 1938 in New York, and whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in King County, in the early and middle 1940's; Ida Glaser, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in King County and in the 37th District Club in the mid-1940's, and whose Communist Party dues I have collected; Leon Glaser, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in the 37th District Club in the mid-1940's and from whom I have collected Communist Party dues; Bert Goelcher, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in King County in the mid-1940's, with whom I have attended King County functionaries' meetings; Ben Golden, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party of King County in the mid-1940's and with whom I have discussed his Communist Party membership—he once traveled with Soviet movies for the district and showed one of these movies in Spokane, Wash.; Margaret Haggin, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane, Wash., in the late 1930's and have attended branch meetings with her; Morrie Haggin, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane, Wash., in the late 1930's and have attended railroad branch meetings with him; Al Hanover, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County and as a member of a Communist branch in Bremerton in the mid and late 1940's, and have discussed his Communist Party membership with him; Hilda Hansen, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County in the mid-1940's and have attended King County functionaries' meetings with her.



Della Hayes, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in King County and a member of the Auburn branch of the Communist Party, in the mid-1940's, with railroad concentration; Jessie Harris, whom I have known as an officer of the King County Communist Party in the middle 1940's; Victor Hicks, who was introduced to me as a Communist Party member by Andrew Remes after World War II; Bob Ingalls, whom I knew as a member of the Young Communist League in Spokane in the Middle 1930's, who went to Spain to take part in the armed conflict there and whom I knew in the middle 1940's as a member of the Communist Party in the Renton area; Harry Jackson, whom I knew as the district trade-union director of the Communist Party in the middle 1930's; Al Jones, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane in unemployed work in the middle 1930's—I think he has died; Claudia Jones, whom I knew as a national leader of the Communist Party, whom I have met at national conventions of the Communist Party and have heard her speak in that capacity at meetings in Seattle; Gus Klatt, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the White Center area and also as a member of the welders club of the Communist Party in Seattle in the middle and late 1940's; Mrs. Red Donna Kroener, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the Duwamish Bend Club in the late 1940's; Paul Ledbetter, whom I recruited into the Communist Party and who was dropped from membership 2 or 3 months later on my advice that he did not seem to be of sound mind; Paul Linderman, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the west Seattle section in the middle 1940's; Rosalie Linderman, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party and met with at King County functionaries' meetings in the early 1940's; Bea Logan, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County and as manager of the Communist Party Workers Book Store in the early 1940's.

Hugo Lundquist, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the Wallace-Kellogg area in Idaho and whose dues were transmitted to me by Harlow Wildman—Communist Party dues; Helen McCannon, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Seattle and as doing Communist Party work in the Progressive Citizens of America in the early 1940's; Ellen McGrath, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County, with whom I have attended district committee meetings and whom I have known as a district committee member and as chairman of the district for a period of time; Mel Ludington, whom I knew as an officer of the northwest Washington region of the Communist Party in the latter 1940's; Clarence Markham, a young Negro man whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County in the middle and latter 1940's and also as a branch chairman; Bob Miller, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the Holly Park branch, who was formerly employed at Boeing's and was not rehired after the strike—I knew him in the middle and latter 1940's; Max Olsen, whom I knew as district youth director of the Communist Party in the latter 1930's; Gladys Pettus, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in a club in the Renton area in Seattle in the latter 1940's; Carl Reeve, whom I knew as Northwest district secretary of the Communist Party in the middle 1940's; Bill Roark, whom I have known as a section organizer of the Communist Party in King County in the middle

1940's; Pat Ryan, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party, living in South King County on Empire Way and whom I had met at King County functionaries' meetings; Louis Sass, whom I knew as Northwest district organizational secretary of the Communist Party in the latter 1930's; Joe Simmonds, whom I knew as a member of the railroad branch of the Communist Party in Spokane in the latter 1930's; Betty Smith, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in King County and whom I met with at King County functionaries' meetings in the early, middle, and late 1940's—she was expelled; Claude Smith, whom I have met with in King County functionaries' meetings in the early, middle, and late 1940's and who was expelled—he was active in legislative work of the Communist Party and ran for candidate on the Democratic ticket at one time.

Ferdinand Smith, with whom I have attended closed Communist Party meetings in Seattle in the middle 1940's when he made a visit to this area and who I knew as a leading Communist Party member in the National Maritime Union and as an officer of that union in the middle 1940's; Walter Stack, with whom I have met in district plenums in the middle 1930's; Axel Starr, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in the northwest Washington region and as a Communist in a lumber union in the middle and latter 1940's; Andy Sundin, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane in the latter 1930's and whom I knew as business agent of an engineers' local; Ralph Hall, whom I have known as a member of the Communist Party in King County from 1942 to 1950, holding various offices and including Northwest district press director—I also knew him in the underground of the Communist Party and knew that he used the name of Carl Swanson; Henry Villavaso, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in the Jackson Street Club as chairman in the late 1940's; Lowell Wakefield—I attended a Northwest district plenum at which Lowell Wakefield spoke as editor of the Voice of Action, and knew him as a district leader in that capacity in the middle 1930's—I was present as a delegate from the Spokane section; Herb Walters, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Spokane, Wash., in the middle 1930's and as a Communist Party member in the hod carriers' local of Spokane, and as a delegate to the Central Labor Council of Spokane from the hod carriers' local; James West, whom I knew as youth director of the Northwest district of the Communist Party in the latter 1930's and whom I have met in Spokane and at district functionaries' meetings; Muriel Wildman Crowe, whom I knew as a member of the Communist Party in Kings County in the early and middle 1940's and have attended Kings County functionaries' meeting with her; Henry Winston, whom I have known as national organizational secretary of the Communist Party and have met with him and corresponded with him in that capacity while I was district organizational secretary in 1945-46, and who was known to me as a national committee member—I attended classes taught by him at a national training school which I attended in early 1946 where he taught on the Negro question, and also I was present with him as a fellow delegate at the reconstitution convention of the Communist Party in 1945.

MR. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, we have heard some witnesses before the committee refer with a measure of pride to what was termed the "democracy of the Communist Party," while other witnesses have

stated that there was no democracy within the Communist Party, and many witnesses have indicated that it was due to the lack of democracy that they began to think in terms of leaving the Communist Party. Will you please explain to the committee your knowledge of this subject?

Mrs. HARTLE. Despite the fact that "democracy" is one of the key slogans of the Communist Party, in its organizational structure it bases itself on democratic-centralism. According to this, the leadership is elected at various levels. The branch members elect the branch officer and executive committee and delegates to section conventions. The delegates to section conventions elect the section officers and section committee and delegates to the region, and so on up through whatever levels may exist, such as county, State, district, to the national leadership.

Until the Communist Party disaffiliated from the Communist International, delegates from the national convention were elected to the Comintern Convention.

Once the committees and delegates have been elected, their decisions are binding on those who elected them. After delegates have gone from several branches to a section convention and elected a section committee, the decisions of this committee are binding on all the branches and members thereof involved. A branch or member may appeal a section committee decision but, pending the outcome of the appeal, they must abide by the decision. This applies throughout.

A number of explanations are given of the superiority of this system of organization. The party of the working class, the Communist Party, must have unity of will for necessary striking power, because under capitalism the working class is oppressed by the capitalist class and constantly split and one section set against another to keep it weakened. Another explanation is that the best developed leadership is assured by this type of choice. Democratic centralism is necessary for unity of will and action.

The "democratic" part of democratic centralism is that the members or delegates have freedom of discussion and choice before they make their decisions and elect their delegates.

Lenin explains that in times of illegality the democratic part cannot be carried out, that leadership must be picked from the top on down.

In actual practice, the leadership is picked from the top on down. This was done from the time I joined until I left Seattle in 1950. The methods varied but nomination by a top committee or person is tantamount to election.

Since the reconstruction, all pretense of election was dropped. Regional organizers were chosen in advance by the district officers and election at conventions was a mere formality or afterthought. The "security" campaign made this procedure plausible.

"In the best interests of the party and working class" to top leadership always uses the ways and means necessary to eliminate undesirable members or officers and never fails to succeed.

There is much talk of eliminating "bureaucratic" officers and methods of work. The whole reconstitution gave glowing promises along this line. The temporary disorientation and organizational loosening up of the reconstitution period was rapidly overcome, so that by 1949 and 1950 the tightness of control as regards political line and leading



personnel exceeded that of any other period that I had experienced in the party.

The whole program to tighten control was based on the idea that revisionism of Marxism-Leninism must be rooted out. The method used was to pay much more attention to the review commissions, seeing that top people should be on it, with the ability and responsibility to analyze all leadership. Such a review of regional leadership was taking place when I left Seattle in 1950. The entire past history and present characteristics of this personnel was investigated.

Although I was not a member of the district review commission, I participated as district leader in one session in the examination of North King regional organizer Helen Huff and North King organizational secretary Elmer Kistler. Clayton Van Lydegraf also participated in this examination. To the best of my recollection he was assigned by the district board to participate with the review commission in its examination work. The aim of the review was to determine the reliability of the leadership.

The totalitarianism of the Communist Party flows from its acceptance of Marxism-Leninism as the only scientific, consistent analysis of the world. The political program, organizational methods, and the activities of the Communist Party are therefore "scientific," are either correct or incorrect, and a division of opinion must necessarily be resolved as to which side is "scientific." Since Marxism-Leninism is also defined as a partisan science, the science of the working class, the science of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism, the ordinary tests of science do not apply. I found this concept extremely difficult to grasp and teach, and attributed the difficulty to my "intellectual" background, feeling that I had not yet rooted out "bourgeois" influence in my thinking.

The Communist Party makes it eminently clear to its members and leaders that persons of "intellectual" background will have much more bourgeois baggage to rid themselves of than those without the handicaps of a bourgeois education. They are thus put on the defensive and the question becomes: Can he grasp Marxism-Leninism or not?

Mr. TAVENNER. Committee investigations have disclosed a very definite interlocking of peace proposals advocated by the Communist Party of the United States with pronouncements of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Will you please state to the committee what the effect of peace proposals by the Communist Party of the United States had in recruiting members to the Communist Party and will you also give the committee a brief history of the peace programs of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mrs. HARTLE. The strongest and most continuous appeal that the Communist Party program and Marxist-Leninist theory had for me was its contention that it was for peace. I became convinced that in a Communist world that the causes for war would be removed. I accepted Marxist-Leninist theory about just and unjust wars with the understanding that once the world had gone through these inevitable wars that a situation would result in which there would be no more wars of any kind. I was also convinced that the Communist movement on a world scale and the Soviet Government of communism always did everything they could to prevent wars from breaking out and only engaged in combat on the "just" side to further the liberation of mankind and to reach the situation of world peace.

Convinced that Soviet Russia led by the Communist Party could not possibly want or foster war, I believed that the "peace" programs of the CPUSA, which always coincided with the "peace" policies of Soviet Russia, were truly in the best interests of our country and the American people. I believed that big business interests in our country were the ones who opposed these genuine peace programs and that the American people had nothing to gain and everything to lose by supporting their war ventures.

The "peace" programs of the CPUSA always coincided with the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. The CPUSA supported the Soviet policy for "collective security" in the late 1930's on the basis that Hitler fascism was out to conquer the world. According to the Communist Party program, the United States of America should have supported Russia's proposals for an anti-Hitler pact in which England, France, and other countries should take part. This appeared to me as an effective peace program. When this collective security policy of Russia failed and the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, the Communist Party declared that Russia could not have done anything else, that it needed the time for building up its defenses, that it gained valuable time in which to be able to defeat Hitler Germany later on. The Communist Party described the Hitler-Stalin pact as a nonaggression pact, that Russia in no way was giving comfort or support to Hitler, and as a Communist I had confidence that Soviet Russia knew what it was doing and that this was in the best interests of not only Russia but the whole world peace program.

Although I was for most of this period on leave of absence from the Communist Party, I subscribed to the Daily Worker and presented resolutions in the cooks and waiters union, of which I was a member, and in the Cascade Trades and Labor Assembly, in which I was a delegate for several months, at Great Falls, Mont., along Communist policy lines. I distinctly remember presenting a resolution to the assembly, which I believe was passed, to the effect that "the Yanks are not coming," which was a key Communist slogan in that period.

The first part of World War II, until Hitler attacked Soviet Russia, was described by the Communist Party as the "imperialist phase" of the war; after Russia was attacked, the character of the war changed, it became a war of national liberation. It was pointed out that the size and importance of Russia is what changed the balance. At a later date, Stalin, it seemed to me then, as a Communist, corrected some inexact formulations. He said that there were elements of "justness" in the war throughout, but that these elements of justness were not predominant, but with Soviet Russia getting involved these "just" elements took over and now it was truly a war for the liberation of mankind. As a Communist I ascribed these errors in formulation to a tendency of the CPUSA to being mechanical in its analysis, to oversimplifying the definition of the first phase of World War II.

Many members dropped away from the Communist Party during this period; the membership declined drastically. Spokane, which had once reached a membership between three and four hundred during the middle thirties, was down to 17 members when I returned from Great Falls in 1941. During the imperialist phase of World War II, the Communist Party went through a "testing" period; much was said of the importance of members who do not flinch in difficult times. Andrew Remes, acting district organizer at that time, told me

that we should attach particular importance to the members who lasted through this phase, as they were worth more than a large number of members who joined and stayed in the Communist Party in easier times. I ascribed my own uneasiness during this period to lack of resoluteness as a Communist, never questioned the correctness and justice of the Communist position. To have left the Communist Party at that time to me would have meant deserting under difficulties. I had long been taught, very consistently and very thoroughly, that to give in to the "Red scare" meant to be a deserter and coward in the face of the class struggle. I was fully convinced that the reason that many millions, even the majority of our country, did not follow Communist Party policies was because they were prevented by undemocratic elements from learning the truth about it and because when they did learn the truth they were afraid because of the difficulties involved to take their place in the struggle.

With the Hitler attack on Russia in 1941 and the change in the character of the war, the Communist Party position changed to support to the allied side of the war. Internally this change of position created serious problems. In Spokane several members had been recruited into the party on the basis of antiwar, and the problem of how to bring them to understand the necessity of being for war was a pressing one. I obtained material as rapidly as I could to arm myself for this reorientation. One of the pamphlets, the *Turning Point in the War*, by Allen, seemed to me to be a masterpiece of explanation. This pamphlet helped me considerably to understand the change and armed me with arguments to convince others. Although I did not leave the Communist Party during the imperialist phase of the war, but was only on leave of absence, I greatly welcomed this change in events and found new enthusiasm for party work.

The peace program was dropped and into its place, especially after Pearl Harbor, came the "win the war" program of the Communist Party. I was fully in accord with the Communist Party program for support to the war and wholeheartedly engaged in many "win the war" activities as a Communist. My attachment to peace, on which I had relied strongly in other situations to bolster my confidence in the Communist Party positions, evaporated. I felt that I had reached the stage of being a more fully developed Communist, who takes his position on just and unjust wars as he should in the interests of the class struggle, and that I had overcome pacifist tendencies. Pacifism, according to communism, is to be opposed to all wars.

After World War II, the Communist Party adopted a "win the peace" policy, which again dovetailed with Soviet Russia's foreign policy to create demobilization on the basis that after defeat of the Fascist Axis there would be a peaceful world.

In 1945 the reconstitution of the CPUSA took place. At that time, as a Communist, I did not connect this event in my mind with the reeducation program in Marxism-Leninism that was taking place in Soviet Russia, although I read about this program. To me it seemed that the reconstitution was an internal Communist problem, that the Communist Party had gotten off the track of Marxism-Leninism and was getting back onto it.

Shortly after World War II, it appeared to me that the reconstitution was very correct and that the imperialist forces in our country were not interested in winning the peace but were driving toward



further war. The whole reconstitution discussion revolved around a reestimate of American capitalism, the class struggle, the role of the Communist Party, and convinced me that under Browder's leadership we had lost sight of the true character of capitalism and the responsibility of the Communist Party to give leadership in the struggle against the imperialist war drive of American capitalism and the inherent drive towards fascism in an imperialist country. Thus when the Communist Party assumed its anti-imperialist world war III peace program, I was convinced that the Communist Party now was on the right track. I did not then see the whole reconstitution campaign as one to reorient the Communist Party along the lines of interest to Soviet Russia, which, in fact, it did.

The Stockholm Peace Pledge petition campaign was organized by the Communist Party in this district. Party organizations and members were given quotas; plans for its circulation were made in the Communist Party from the district board on down through the branches. This campaign received all the political and organizational attention of which the Communist Party in this district was capable. Several thousand signatures were obtained on street corners, in the neighborhoods and from members in organizations that Communist Party members could contact. The main work was done by Communist Party members, although considerable effort, without much success, was made to involve non-Communist Party people in working for the campaign. Persons solicited for signatures were not advised that the Communist Party was in any way connected with it.

The peace program of the Communist Party after the outbreak of the war in Korea was to contend that the cause of peace could only be served by either the United States forces withdrawing from Korea or by the defeat of South Korea. In a leaflet written by Clayton Van Lydegraf immediately after the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, the northwest district took the position that this war must be stopped—to fail to do so would lead to imperialist world war III.

MR. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, we have heard during this and many other hearings that individuals terminated their party membership without any formal action in doing so. Will you please explain to the committee whether or not any method is recognized by the Communist Party for terminating membership by action on the part of the member?

MRS. HARTLE. In the Communist Party there is no established way for leaving the organization. The constitution says that a member 3 months in arrears in dues is no longer a member in good standing.

At the first of each year a reregistration campaign takes place, at which time all those who are going into the coming year as members are reregistered. Those who do not come to the branch reregistration meeting are visited for this purpose. These reregistration campaigns during the period from 1933, when I joined the party, until 1950, when I left Seattle to go underground, usually lasted in full force for the first 6 months of the year and were sometimes not concluded until just before the beginning of the reregistration for the next year commenced.

I have reregistered members who were 2 years behind in dues, collected these 2 years' dues and reregistered them as continuous members. At other times I have visited unregistered members and as the time for reregistration was set more definitely in that year, have re-

recruited them into the party. The policy of the Communist Party on membership is that members are not dropped on the basis of non-payment of dues, nonattendance at meetings, or failure to engage in activities for the Communist Party.

I remember one instance in Spokane when the district organizer Rappaport delivered a stern lecture to those of us working on reregistration. He had learned that we felt that if the members did not pay up their dues and come to meetings, we wanted to drop them and quit running around after them to get them reregistered. He said that we had no right or political sense to adopt this attitude and asked how we would feel if someone decided to drop us.

The policy that I learned then and understood as a district leader was that members are not dropped without good and sufficient reason to do so, such reasons being outright disagreement with or hostility toward the Communist Party policies or its leadership. Disinterest is not accepted as a reason for dropping a member. Such a person is supposed to be worked on, to revive his interest.

The Communist Party does recognize such a thing as "former members," perhaps who have consistently made excuses for not being members, persons who have moved and been lost track of and show up again and are recognized, persons who have moved in from another district without transfer and reveal their former membership, and persons that have been neglected through poor organizational work or forgotten about. This type of former member, who has expressed no serious disagreement or hostility is added to the Communist Party lists with the aim of reintegrating him into the party, either through rerecruitment or reregistration. When the party organization feels that it is not possible to convince the person to become an active, dues-paying member, the approach will be to retain him as a sympathizer, sell him Communist Party literature, raise funds, discuss Communist policy with him—to activate him along the lines of these policies in one form or another.

I remember another instance in Spokane when I expressed dissatisfaction with a person who followed the party policies but refused to join the party. A man named Boyer, representative of some Communist-front organization, probably the Friends of the Soviet Union, chided me and said that I should understand that those "who are near to us are dear to us." I learned then and have understood since throughout my Communist Party membership that a Communist Party sympathizer is to be valued highly.

The most definite way to get out of the Communist Party is to be expelled. To achieve this a member must commit some offense against the party and then refuse to recognize his error. This member will then have a definite date on which his membership was terminated.

The problem of leaving the Communist Party is not an involved one if the person is no longer under Communist influence. He can declare his disaffiliation publicly or, if he does not wish to do that, he can shake the Communist Party's claim on him by reporting his decision to the FBI. Such drastic steps would not be necessary were it not for the fact that the Communist Party pursues its members and contacts long after they have shown every evidence of no further interest. The Communist position is that it is repression of freedom for a person to have to report to the FBI in order to leave the Communist Party. They brush aside laws, security regulations, and public opinions that

involve Communist practice and policies, and overlook the fact that a person who no longer wishes to be a Communist finds it impossible to establish this fact from the Communist Party but must do so separate and apart from the party.

The Communist Party policy, as shown in the Seattle Smith Act trial, is to refuse to name members of the Communist Party and, in order to do this, it logically follows for them to refuse to say who is not in the Communist Party.

The practice of accepting resignations of party members before they sign Taft-Hartley affidavits is a recent innovation. Formally quitting the party in this manner has never been Communist Party practice in my entire membership.

The Communist Party regards all of these procedures in matters of organization as being very superior to those of ordinary organizations and as based on deep theory.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hartle, the committee would be glad to hear your views on the best method to combat communism within the United States.

Mrs. HARTLE. To the best of my present understanding, the best way to combat the Communist Party is to isolate and expose it. Any method of combating the Communist Party that gives it an opportunity to tie itself up with other forces only plays into its hands. This is difficult to avoid in all circumstances, for the very reason that the Communist Party methods and activities are such as constantly to tie themselves in with other forces and organizations and to espouse a thousand issues which are of some interest to the people generally.

Exposure of the real nature of the Communist Party, using some of the proof right out of the horse's mouth, as was done in the Seattle Smith Act trial, seems to me to be valid for broad, public, educational campaigns about it. The Communist Party circulates books and pamphlets with titles that would enlighten the average American immensely as to its real intents, especially its basic Marxist-Leninist works.

The exposure of hidden Communists in government seems to me to be of great importance to exposure of the Communist Party, for here the people can get an inkling that the Communists are not aboveboard in their dealings. Exposure of Russian espionage agents as connected with the Communist Party of this country would open the eyes not only of the people but of Communist members themselves. Evidence can be obtained within the Communist Party as to the opinions of Communists about such espionage work, but I am sure that it will have to be obtained in off-the-record conversations.

The Smith Act cases have created the most difficulties for the Communist Party internally. They have disrupted its leadership, destroyed to a large extent the ability to organize its work, have forced the Communist Party to spend a lot of time and energy to reorganize itself along lines so that it can continue functioning, and have immobilized at least half if not more of its membership. The Communist Party does not welcome Smith Act cases as good issues to fight on; it realizes that it will lose much more than it can gain out of them.

I believe that labeling of Communist members, publications, and of activities would be an extremely effective way to reduce its effectiveness. The Communists could not then so easily cry "free speech," but would be in the embarrassing position of having to issue their



material under their own name. This would be a great help to many people.

Identification of Communists and their activities seems to me to have an effect that is more beneficial than outlawing them. Practically it has the same effect on the Communist Party, as the people will not respond in any numbers when they are aware of Communist identity.

Outlawing the Communist Party would give it the excuse to go completely underground. This would reduce the Communist Party to a shell but would make it more difficult for the authorities to keep track of it, and this shell would consist of those Communists who would be the most tested and therefore the greatest menace in any situation which they might be able to operate to their advantage, such as sabotage in wartime. As the Communist Party is further isolated and exposed, there is every probability, in my opinion, that it may go underground completely of its own accord. In that event, directly outlawing it might be practical, for then such a step would be largely an educational feature and would be based directly on the Communist Party's own actions, as then it would be clear to the public as a whole that the Communist Party is not a political party, as it contends it is.

My own experience is that one labor leader, fully acquainted with the Communist Party and opposed to it, can be an effective bar to Communists infiltrating a union. Special educational work among labor leaders and others, it seems to me, would create an important force to combat Communists and their program. The impact of such pamphlets as *How to Spot a Communist in a Labor Union* was considerable on the Communists, but the ones I saw were not very complete.

Greater attention to anti-Communist educational campaigns directed toward those sectors of the people that are most vulnerable to Communist propaganda seem important to me as part of the whole program. If more labor leaders, educators, Negro leaders, women, and others were to speak more articulately on this problem, I feel certain that a big interest and response would be forthcoming that would be extremely valuable for our country.

The kind of work that the Velde committee did in San Diego seems very effective to me. Like the Smith Act cases, the problem is taken out of the realm of mystery and is put concretely and simply before the people, with clear factual data and names to support the contentions, and with the type of public relations approach that draws more people into the whole anti-Communist campaign.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you please tell the committee what security measures were adopted by the Communist Party?

MRS. HARTLE. Communist Party security measures are based on basic Marxist-Leninist theory, which is that a true Communist Party—revolutionary party of the proletariat or whatever its name—will use both legal and illegal methods, as the situation demands. I have read a statement by V. I. Lenin, *Collected or Selected Works*, that a party that refuses to combine illegal with legal methods is not a truly revolutionary party of the working class.

The illegal methods are justified by the argument that under capitalism there is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which exploits the working class, and is a minority in any country. According to this,

the laws and institutions of the government of a capitalist country were made by and are enforced by a minority against the interests, welfare, etc., of the overwhelming majority of the people of a country. The Communist Party, representing the interests of the working class and of the overwhelming majority of the people of a country, cannot be bound by these minority laws, unless it wants to betray the working class and people. The Communist Third International accused the Socialist International—second international—of doing just that.

Security measures are taken by the Communist Party to protect the party of the working class from destruction by the bourgeois-dictated government, says the Communist Party.

Some of the measures are:

(a) Avoidance of arrest of leadership. In about 1934 in Spokane the then district organizer, Morris Rappaport, instructed section committee members and other active members to find a place to stay in case of warning, where the police would not be able to find them.

(b) In the middle thirties precautions were taken in the sending of dues, recruit cards, and transfers of membership, using unknown—as Communist Party—addresses in both Spokane and Seattle for this purpose. This practice was resumed in the late 1940's or else the business was done from person to person instead of using mails at all.

(c) By 1940 and 1950, much greater precautions were taken in holding Communist Party meetings, with the aim of preventing the authorities from knowing the content or personnel of the meetings. Designated persons would meet other persons scheduled to attend at street corners or in cafes and take them to the meeting so that none would have an opportunity to inform as to the place. Luncheons were being served on the premises with no permission to leave the building until the meeting was over, with the same purpose as stated above in mind.

(d) Screening: In the late 1940's the Communist Party developed a greater vigilance against keeping suspect members, and the district leadership carefully scrutinized the list of proposed persons to attend district conferences and exercised direct veto on any persons whom it suspected of being in any way unreliable. This scrutinizing was not directed at suspected FBI agents—they would not be allowed to stay in the party at all—but was directed at persons believed not to be sufficiently reliable to count on absolutely.

(e) Measures to conceal Communist Party membership: parking cars some distance away from a known Communist's home or a Communist meeting place. Abandoning the practice of keeping branch and other party organization minutes and membership lists; abandoning the use of the United States mail for anything that would reveal Communist Party membership—in the late 1940's.

(f) In the late 1940's not using the district or regional or section headquarters phone for transacting much of the party's business; not leaving records or other material overnight in the Communist Party offices; and not leaving material in the wastepaper basket that might reveal plans or Communist Party membership.

(g) In the late 1940's, as a part of the whole reconstitution program and thereafter, the size of party clubs was reduced several times. By early 1950 the clubs had been divided into small groups, with the clubs meeting one week and the groups meeting separately the next week. The understanding was that soon it might be necessary to abandon club meetings altogether and have meetings of the smaller groups

only. The clubs then had approximately 12 members and the groups approximately 4 members. Some clubs and groups had not yet achieved this status, but that was the organizational directive to be carried out.

(h) Covering telephones with a blanket or leaving on a radio were methods used to prevent a recording device from being successful.

(i) In the early and middle 1930's the practice of using party names was used to conceal identity of members, with the explanation that this was to protect members in their employment. The use of party names was not resumed in the late 1940's and early 1950—no names at all were used in records. Branch secretaries and group secretaries were also instructed not to use initials either.

(j) By late 1949 and early 1950, the membership of the district board was no longer revealed to the membership generally, as had been done to some extent, especially with known Communists, in earlier periods.

(k) In connection with the underground, a whole series of new security measures were adopted. Underground members changed their names and complete identity, secured social-security cards, driver's licenses, and all other necessary documents under false names and identity.

Underground members bought new cars under false names and generally conducted their entire affairs so as to escape being identified by anyone at all except their contact. Underground members were instructed to be particularly watchful as to whether anyone was following them or recognized them.

(l) Loose gossip, unnecessary talk about matters that were not being directly transacted on party assignment, were campaigned against in the late 1940's and early 1950 by Communist Party leaders. The aim was to reduce the possible information that an FBI agent might gain to the barest minimum.

(m) Such financial records and other material as still remained in the district office in 1950 were either destroyed or removed. The Communist Party district policy was to have nothing in the office except such material as was being distributed publicly.

(n) Communist Party membership cards were abandoned in about 1948. Communist Party dues stamps were used as a receipt to members, with the advice that they should probably best tear them up. Members were not required to accept the stamps, in which case the secretary destroyed them in their presence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instances in which Communist Party members were sent into the Seattle area to obtain employment in sensitive industries?

Mrs. HARTLE. During World War II a number of persons came into the Seattle area and went to work in the shipyards and in the Boeing Aircraft factory and who secured their transfers and became members of the Communist Party in this district, especially in Seattle. During the latter part of World War II and until shortly after it, a branch of the Communist Party existed composed of Bremerton Naval Yard workers. It consisted of several persons who had come into the area and gone to work in the yard and then reported at Communist Party headquarters that they were members from other areas, and of several local Communists employed there.



In order that they should not be discharged, because of security regulations, under my leadership this branch was organized on a security basis, with some care in holding meetings and in revealing their membership to others in the Communist Party or elsewhere. Besides regular educational and organizational tasks, the work of this branch revolved around what the members could do in their unions along the lines of the Communist Party win-the-war effort.

After the war all of these members were laid off in the reduction of force.

Some of the members were: Al Hanover; George Collins.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party take a position on the question of sharing responsibility of leadership with women in the Communist Party?

Mrs. HARTLE. The theoretical position on the woman question, according to Marxism-Leninism is that women's equal rights and needs of women should not be fought for as such; to do so is to take a feminist position. Instead, women's rights and needs should be fought for in such a way as to give support to the proletariat, and the main work should take place among women workers. It is considered by the Communist Party that women have an inferior status under capitalism, which will be remedied completely under socialism and communism, at which time "male superiority" will be rooted out.

The woman question is not a key question in the Communist Party, either in its basic theory where relatively little is written, or in its current works and practical program in the CPUSA. Usually, however, there has been a national women's commission and a district women's commission, subcommittees of the leading committees. Under this guidance, the commissions formulate programs of education and action designed to fit the policy of the Communist Party. During World War II the district women's commission put on a campaign to get women workers into Boeing's on the basis of all-out support to win the war, to meet the manpower shortage. A number of women Communist Party members went to work in Boeing's in the course of this campaign—estimate only: 25 to 35. The district women's commission in late 1949 and early 1950, under district assignment, headed a women-for-peace petition campaign and organized work for the Stockholm Peace Pledge. A part of this program was to organize neighborhood women's peace committees. This was Communist-front work in the woman field.

One of the main tasks undertaken by the district women's commission was to attempt to get the Congress of American Women organized in this State. Hazel McCannon, member of the district women's commission, was assigned by the commission to head this organization and carry out this task. She became the executive secretary of the Seattle chapter, and conferred with me regularly in that operation. The success of the Congress of American Women was very small in Seattle and never really got under way except for a few members in Tacoma and possibly Spokane. I spoke as a Communist woman leader to one of its meetings in Seattle.

Members of the district women's commission at varying times; Baba Jeanne Decker, Fair Taylor, Irene Hull, Helen Nelson, Helen Huff, Hazel McCannon, Marjorie Rabbitt, Mary Salvus.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe to the committee, please, the type of control that the Communist Party sought to exercise over its members?

Mrs. HARTLE. After a member joins the party, the whole process of completely controlling his life begins. Through reading Communist Party material, through discussions, formal and casual, and through Communist Party education in classes and schools, he is brought to understand the need for discipline, mental and physical. He learns that to become a true professional revolutionary means to put the party before everything else, in theory and in practice. Members who respond to the line and tasks of the party are extolled and used as examples continually, while at the same time cautioning them in proletarian modesty and urging them to higher levels. The importance of the weapon of "criticism and self-criticism" is constantly stressed as the means of achieving party unity. The member grows to feel proud of the unity of the party as compared with the disorganization of other organizations.

A true Communist will work where the party wishes him to. A part of the concentration program in 1948-50 was to direct persons not already employed in important work or industries to enter lumber, marine, and aircraft, to become members of the respective unions, and to look to their future life in this party-chosen field.

A true Communist will not leave an important field of work or area without party sanction. I know of one member, Mary Guilmet's husband, who was disciplined by the North King region for wanting to go to Alaska to work and live. I know of another member who wanted to go on a farm, Frank Kerr, but was prevailed upon to remain at his job as a machinist in Pacific Car & Foundry. Clayton Van Lydegraf told me that Frank Kerr was trying to run away from responsibility and that steps were being taken to dissuade him. I myself sold my business, of which I was very fond, at party direction, so that I could run a party bookstore, which did not even pay me a salary for my effort. Members have been advised to get married and settle down, with the advice that this would make them better party members; and members have been required to break with husbands or wives who went over to the "enemy." When Harvey Jackins was expelled, I heard a discussion seriously held as to what his wife would do—go with him to the "enemy" or stay with the party. The Jackins have 3 or 4 children.

The propaganda and practices of the Communist Party are such that a member is put into a virtual vise—all in the name of freedom.

According to Stalin, discipline is based on understanding. When an individual member's understanding fails, however, he will be subject to a harassment campaign to bring him back into line and activity. If that fails and he persists in expressing wrong ideas or in carrying out wrong activities, he will be brought up on charges, put to trial and disciplined. If he fails to bow to the will of the party, does not recognize his errors, he will be expelled.

Financial demands of members are considerable. A day's pay, a week's pay and even a month's pay is not considered excessive for the urgent fund drives of the Communist Party. Much attention is given to extracting larger sums from those who may possibly have it or be able to raise it. I know of one campaign against the Mundt bill,

where a number of party members were induced to take mortgages on their homes. Marion Kinney told me in 1953 that she and her husband, Glen, are still paying off a \$1,000 mortgage made to give the funds to the Communist Party. I know of a woman union office worker, Myrna Anderson, who had saved \$1,000 and was induced to give it to the party in another fund drive.

The Communist Party has a line on motion pictures, literature, art, music—in every field of culture. The recreation of members is guided by the Communist line.

Especially since the reconstitution, the Communist Party has toughened its discipline and control, spent more effort on ascertaining the reliability of its leaders, and has raised its qualifications for membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present at any meetings of the leadership of the Communist Party in which its attitude toward the Korean war was discussed and, if so, will you tell the committee, please, what reaction you received from it?

Mrs. HARTLE. When I first heard of the outbreak of war in Korea, I was only able to think of it in Communist terms, that the United States, as the leading imperialist power in the world, had been driving toward launching another imperialist war, since shortly after World War II, and that Korea was a part of that effort. Despite my Communist thinking, I felt stunned. I had become convinced that the Communist-led peace campaign was a very effective one and the outbreak of the war in Korea shocked me into a dim realization of where Communist Party membership was heading, to outright opposition to the United States in wartime. I remember the first informal discussion of the meaning of Korea among the staff in the Communist Party headquarters and that Clayton Van Lydegraf's analysis was that the Communist Party must sharply call for a stop to this war and pointed out that to do otherwise would lead into world war III. He immediately drafted a leaflet to this effect to be distributed rapidly to the regions, which was done. Although I was thinking and acting like a Communist, I do remember being particular to search articles for the detailed explanation of how this war got started. I remember feeling that there had been some awkwardness in the Communist press reportage of the detailed events and felt some uneasiness over the explanation that the proof of United States aggressiveness was John Foster Dulles' visit in South Korea shortly before the outbreak.

It seemed to me that there should be a clear, more convincing explanation than that. I had not been able to furnish enthusiastic leadership in the Communist Party for some time and Korea seemed to fairly destroy my Communist morale and enthusiasm. At the time I ascribed this to poor health, personal problems, and the need for a rest. I did not view my mental and physical state as a result of disagreement with communism at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. With the thanks of the committee repeated, Mrs. Hartle, you are excused.

(Whereupon the hearing was adjourned.)





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